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Speeches by

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திரு சின்னராமசாமி, காரமடை

திருமதி என். ஏ. ரேணுகாதேவி, சென்னை

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— Retired Chief Justice of India.

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

I deem it an honour to be asked to inaugurate this Conference convened to discuss the problem of language. There is no problem, which has greater potentialities for disintegration than that of language, if it was not properly handled and solved. The solution demands vision and compromise and it is my earnest hope that this conference will investigate and suggest an acceptable solution. In a Nation's affairs rigid positions lead nowhere and statesmanship requires a search for solution without compromising one's basic principles.

On November 4th, 1967, a convention on "The place of English in our Educational system" was held at Madras. I had not seen in the recent years a National conference of that magnitude voluntarily attended by intelligensia belonging to different walks of life in such numbers. The University Centenary Auditorium wherein the said convention was held was filled to capacity. Eminent public men hailing from different parts of the country expounded their views with vision and clarity. Considered resolutions were passed by committees formed on vocational basis.

An eminent public man in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the chair endorsed the description that the said gathering was of unique kind which in historical retrospect and by the historians of the future might be referred to as a turning point in the fortunes of the country in the context of the proper development and well being of our younger generation. It does not appear that the people in power have given due consideration to the weighty conclusions arrived at therein. But if the cause is good, persons who believe in the cause should not be deterred by the neglect of authority but should pursue it more vigorously to secure for it public acceptance. In my inaugural address to that conference, I have given reasons for my views on the subject in some detail and no useful purpose would be served by repetition. After the said convension, the Official language Act was amended by Amending Act of 1967 and a resolution was passed by the Parliament providing for the manner of implementing the provisions of the Act.

At the outset it would be useful to state briefly the views obtaining on the subject in the various States so that this conference may have before it the picture of the conflicting views. Since then divergent views of various States have become crystallised. Broadly stated all the Hindi States i.e. States where the mother

tongue of the majority of the population is Hindi, the Government of those States and all the different political parties therein want Hindi to be not only the official language of the Centre and the States but also the medium of instruction in Educational Institutions and the language of the Courts. But the intelligensia of those States with a few exceptions would like the transition to take place by slow and measured steps, and to maintain English as a special subject at all the stages of education. All of them have no objection for the adoption of the three-language formula. In non-Hindi States i. e. the States where the mother tongue of majority of people is not Hindi, there are divergent views.

Briefly stated the policy of Madras Government is: (1) English to be the link language; (2) regional language to be the medium of instruction in all educational institutions; (3) English is to be taught as a subject at all levels of education and (4) the manner and the pace of transition from Tamil to English to be left to experts. Politicians belonging to Congress party by and large accept the policy of Central Government, though some of them criticise the uneven burden placed by the said resolution on non-Hindi people who apply for employment in the Central services. There is considerable public criticism of the policy of the Government of Madras State in regard to the

switch over from English to Tamil medium at the University level and particularly the pace at which the said policy is sought to be brought about.

Other non-Hindi States may be divided as Congress and non-Congress States. Congress Governments accepted the central policy though some of the members of the Government speak of the uneven burden placed on the non-Hindi people in regard to Central Employment. Non-Congress Governments other than the Madras and Kerala Governments generally accept Hindi to be ultimately the official language and also the three language formula, but they would like the change to take place in a phased programme. But all the non-Hindi State Governments agree that the regional language should be the medium of instruction in all educational institutions at all levels, though they differ as regards the manner and the pace of change. But in all the States there is a real conflict of views between the political parties and the intelligensia. The intelligensia with a few exceptions are for the indefinite continuance of English as an alternative official language, as the medium of instruction in Colleges and as the language of Courts. This dichotomy cannot be ignored when the progress of the future generations is at stake. Nagaland, if I remember right, is for the continuation of English as the medium of instruction. This

conflict between the Hindi and non-Hindi States and between the Governments and the intelligensia of the States cannot be solved by political approach but only by the broad consensus of all sections evolved by constant dialogue, pragmatism and experience.

The problem that will have to be discussed by this conference has different facets: (1) Official language; (2) Language of the Courts and Laws; (3) Medium of instructions in Educational institutions at various levels; and (4) the language of Parliament. As there is some loose talk that the Constitution has once for all solved the problem in favour of Hindi and against English, it would be appropriate to notice the conflict that existed in that regard before the Constitution was made. The name of Mahatma Gandhi is generally invoked in this controversy as in other controversies. What were his views in regard to official language? Mr. Munshi points out in his book "The Pilgrimage to freedom" that Mr. Gandhi held the view that Hindi and Urdu could be harmonised by giving a new label 'Hindustani', that the Sanskrit content of Hindi and the Persian content of Urdu could be fused if Hindus and Muslims knew both the scripts, Devanagari and Persian. Mr. Gandhi had also expressed the view that the National alphabet could be only Devanagari, a claim the protoganists of Urdu would not accept. Gandhi

was thinking of national language, not an official language. At that time leaders of various States were concentrating on the freedom struggle and no one seriously thought of official language. Mr. Gandhi's suggestion was really intended to harmonise the conflicting claims of Hindus and Mohammedans and in view of the formation of Pakistan, that solution lost its force. But after the freedom had dawned on India, when the question of official language was seriously taken up by the Constituent Assembly, the acrimonious conflict thereon was actually brought to forefront. It is freely stated that the question of official language was decided in an atmosphere of hurry and without any vote being taken on the subject on the basis of a decision taken previously at a meeting of Congress members only by the casting vote of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. This is denied. Be that as it may, Mr. Munshi in the said book, said that ultimately 3 schools of thought converged "(a) those Hindi enthusiasts who thought that Hindi should and could be introduced not only as the official language of the Union but even in the High Courts straightaway; (b) those who wanted to retain Hindi as it was before 1947 leaving Hindi to be studied as the 2nd language promoted in easy stages as officiel language and (c) those who thought that English could be replaced by Hindi as the official language of the Union progressively as and when Hindi

was ready to perform in some measure, functions performed by English. There was also some controversy on this question whether Arabic numerals should be used in Devanagari script. Out of this conflict, it is said the "Munshi – Aiyangar" formula was evolved and became part of Articles 343 and 344 of the Constitution. It does not serve any purpose to evaluate the correctness of either of the two versions. According to the 1st version, the relevant provisions were put through without any serious discussion and according to the 2nd version a serious conflict was resolved by an accepted formula. Whatever version may be true, it is apparent from the Assembly's proceedings that the formula was not fully debated in the Assembly. It might be that the serious consequences of the formula were not foreseen or because the Assembly anticipated and visualised the indefinite postponement of their operation. It was a constitutional device to shelve the problem and members should have viewed it in that light.

But actually these very provisions were strongly relied upon in making the Official Language Act 1963 (Act 19 of 63), the Official Languages (Amendment) Act 1967 and the Resolution passed by the Parliament. The scope and effect of these provisions could not be properly appreciated without a clear grasp of the relevant provisions of the Constitution.

The group of Articles collected in part 17 of the Constitution deal with language, Article 343 and 344 provide for the language of the Union, Article 345 to 347 for regional languages, Articles 348 to 349 for the language in the High Courts and Supreme Court and Articles 350 and 351 for special directives. Article 110 deals with the language of the Parliament. I have given detailed treatment of these provisions in my inaugural address at Madras. I would therefore briefly summarise their effect. A careful study of these provisions leads to the following position: though there is a constitutional declaration that Hindi will be the official language, there is no Constitutional command that it should be introduced within a particular time. But it is left to the Parliament and the Legislatures to continue English or not. In regard to the Laws and Courts, there is a constitutional declaration that English shall be the language until Parliament by Law otherwise provides. In respect of education except in regard to the primary stage of education there is no direction at all. But it is left to the wisdom and good sense of the representatives of the people whether to continue it as the sole language or alternate language or replace it by regional languages and if so decided when and how to do so. The provision directing the State to develop Hindi language and the provision. for the appointment of Commission and the terms of

reference to the Commission indicate the scrupulous care taken by the Constitution to prevent replacement of English by Hindi or any other language or languages till the later are sufficiently enriched to meet the peculiar demand of the purpose or purposes for which the replacement is sought for. The said provisions are an essay in caution and reflect the view of the members of the Constituent Assembly that any undue haste will be deleterious to the interests of the country. They also emphasise the immaturity and insufficiency of the Indian languages including Hindi for Legal, scientific and technological and other purposes and give a direction to States to enrich them in the manner prescribed. They also assume the maturity and the wisdom of our legislatures and hope they would implement them solely in the interests of the country uninfluenced by any emotional stresses.

In short the Constitution seeks to have the official language by consent and not by compulsion, by consensus, and not by imposition and by its acquired merit and not by its emotional appeal. It recognises the high place of English in scientific, technological, legal, international and other allied fields and authorises the sole or substantial use of it till such time that it can be replaced by Hindi and other regional languages without detriment to the progress of the society. The

determination of that stage is naturally left to the Legislatures. There lies the justification for the holding of this conference. This and similar conferences have to create sufficiently strong public opinion to persuade the Legislatures to take the right course and to retrace their steps if they had tread a wrong path.

As the fifteen years limit prescribed for the continuance of English was coming to an end, there was an agitation on the part of the people whose mother tongue was not Hindi, for extension of the said period by legislation. It was also pressed upon the Central Government that English should continue to be the official language till all the Non-Hindi States agreed for its abolition. In satisfaction of this public demand the Offfcial Language Act 1963 (Act 19 of 1963) was passed. The main provision of that Act laid down that notwithstanding the expiration of the period of 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution, English language may, as per the appointed day, continue to be used in addition to Hindi for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before that day and for the transaction of business in the Parliament. Two main objections were raised to the Act on the floor of the House. One was that the expression "may" indicate discretion and it was open to the State not to continue English. The second was that there

should be a specific provision to the effect tha English should not be given up till all the States agreed. The then Prime Minister on behalf of the Government and his party assured the Parliament that the word "may" meant "shall" and that English would not be replaced by Hindi and the statusquo would be maintained till the non Hindi speaking people desired a change. With this assurance the Act the enacted which continued the use of English in addition to Hindi after January 26, 1965.

The supervening events show that the Legislatures shall not act on the verbal assurance of men in power. Men however able and prominent at a particular time are bound to pass away and their assurances are at best morally binding on the party they represented and will not have even that effect on the Government if a different party comes into power. In the matter of construction of a statute a Court cannot even look into such assurances for they are irrelevant. Statutes should be self contained and all assurances should be embodied therein.

The Official Language Amendment Act 1967 (Act 1 of 1968) poignantly illustrates my observations. By Section 2 of the said Act a new Section 3 was substituted for Section 3 of the principal Act. Under Section 3 of the principal act, English language may be

continued to be used in addition to Hindi after the expiration of the period of 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution. If 'may' in section 3 meant 'shall' as the then Prime Minister assured the House, and if his assurance that English should not be given up till all the States agreed was respected after his death by the Government and members of his party no other complications would have arisen. A combined effect of the two assurances was that English shall be continued as an official language till all the non Hindi speaking people desired a change. But paradoxically the demand of the non Hindi speaking people that the said pledges of the then Prime Minister should be given a statutory form was taken advantage of to accelerate the pace of Hindi in a subtle manner. To the new section 3, 3 provisos are added. 1st proviso directs the use of English for the purpose of communication between the Union and the State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language and the second directs that in the matter of communication between a State which opted for Hindi and a state which did not, an English translation shall accompany the same. But the 3rd proviso helps to supersede the 1st two unilaterally or by agreement for thereunder an option is given to a State which has not adopted Hindi to communicate in Hindi with Union or any other State which has adopted Hindi. It also enables two States who have not adopted Hindi

to correspond in Hindi by agreement. This is a subtle attempt to persuade or pressurise non Hindi States to fall in line with Hindi States in the matter of inter-state and inter union and State communications. What is dormant in the 3rd proviso is made rather explicit in sub-section 2 which deals with inter - Departmental communications of Central Government or the authorities subordinate to Central Government. While the 3 clauses of Section 2 prescribe that English or Hindi translation as the case may be should be provided along with the communication, the operation of the said provision is limited till such date as the staff of the concerned Ministry, Department, Office or Corporation, or Company have acquired a working knowledge of Hindi. The question is who decides whether the staff has such working knowledge? Obviously the Executive and the concerned Secretaries. In the exhuberance of misguided enthusiasm which is often witnessed in the Central Secretariat, the said limitation may be found handy for accelerating the pace of "Hindiaisation" of the Central Department. Non Hindi staff would become helpless scape-goats under this process.

Sub Section 4 prescribes the rule making power of the Central Government without prejudice to sub section 1 of sub section 2 or sub section 3. Under the rules the Central Government may provide for the language or

languages to be used for the official purposes of the Union including working of any Ministry, Department, section or office. In making the rules due consideration shall be given to the equal and efficient disposal of official business and the interest of the general public and in particular rules so made shall ensure that persons serving in connection with the affairs of the Union having proficiency in either Hindi or English language may function efficiently and they are not placed at a disadvantage on the ground that they do not have proficiency in both the languages. Rules therefore have to be made without prejudice to sub sections 1, 2, 3 and with due consideration to the efficient disposal of work and without placing at a disadvantage either Hindi or non Hindi servants. On paper this rule reads well. But the Central Government i. e. in effect the Secretariat have the power to decide 3 facts (1) whether the staff of the concerned Ministry, etc., have acquired a working knowledge of Hindi? (2) What is necessary for the efficient and quick disposal of official business and the interest of the general public and (3) whether any rule ensures the efficiency without placing at a disadvantage a person who does not possess proficiency in both the languages.

Under sub-section 5 the provisions of Clause (a) of sub-section 1 and the provisions

of sub sections 2 and 3 and 4 shall remain in force until resolutions for the dis-continuance of the use of English language for the purpose mentioned therein have been passed by the legislatures of all the States which have not adopted Hindi as their official language etc. The effectiveness of this provision depends upon that of the provisions it seeks to preserve. Under the provisions of the Principle Act both Hindi and English have equal treatment. But under the amendment Hindi is given a predominant position and the continuance of English language in a large area is made to depend on the executive discretion. The demand of the non-Hindi people was cleverly utilised to water down effectively the assurance given on behalf of the Government. A perverse decision of the Executive may exclude English from inter departmental communications, a temporary change in the party structure of a "recalicitrant" non-Hindi State Legislature" may provide an opportunity to secure the requisite resolution or at any rate the bilateral agreement to carry on their correspondence in Hindi. The Act intended to preserve English as an additional official language may become by the sleight of hand the instrument to eliminate it.

The Amending Act received the assent of the President on 8th January 1968. On the 18th Jan 1968, the Parliament passed a

resolution for the purpose of accelerating the spread and development of Hindi and for the purpose of taking effective steps to implement the 3 language formula. A resolution is not a law; it is only a declaration of the opinion of the House; it is a directive to the executive; it can be revoked or amended within the period prescribed under the rules. In order to ensure the just claims of the people belonging to the different parts of the country it resolved that all candidates for recruitment to the Union Services shall know either Hindi or English and that all the languages in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution and English shall be permitted as an alternative medium for the Central Service examinations. This resolution is criticised on two grounds: (1) it places heavier burden on the non-Hindi block in as much as while the candidates of the Hindi block need only know one language i. e. - their mother tongue, Hindi, the non-Hindi block has to learn two languages, Hindi or English to satisfy sub clause 1 of clause 4 of the resolution in addition to its regional language (2) this is a subtle attempt to exclude English altogether, for a non-Hindi candidate who has to serve in the Central Secretariat will prefer Hindi to English, as under the provisions of the Act he will have to learn any way Hindi after joining the service.

The uneven burden can be made even if in sub clause (a) it is provided that a candidate

hould know both English and Hindi. But the main defect of the resolution is its cumbersomeness in the matter of examinations. How is it possible that if candidates appear in sixteen languages, an uniform standard of evaluation can be laid down, it will not only prevent correct evaluation of merit, but may lead to many abuses.

The 3 language formula in terms of clause 3 of the resolution is introduced for promoting the sense of unity and facilitating communications between people in different parts of the country. It imposes a burden on the students at the expense of their knowledge. At best, it seeks to cement cracks caused by withdrawing English as the sole medium of instruction; at the worst it is a necessary evil. Yet it has one good point; it compels all the students in all the States to learn English.

Therefore on the whole the Act and its resolution not only operate heavily in favour of the Hindi block, but also the resolution introduces different standards in the matter of the said selections and examinations.

It will therefore be seen that the main purpose of the amendment and the resolution is to provide a machinery for the smooth and quick transition from English to Hindi as an official language. The two blocks are at cross

purposes. The Hindi Block is anxious to quicken the transition from English to Hindi, while a section of the non-Hindi block wants only English as the official language, another section bilinguism i e. both Hindi and English indefinitely and the third section would like the transition from Hindi to English to take place gradually and in measured steps. The question of uneven burden on the candidates from the two blocks is a subsidiary one and the over emphasis placed upon it diverts its attention from the real conflict.

Another important question is raised viz., whether the Parliament or the State legislature has the power to provide for the medium of instruction in the educational institutions. Two decisions of the Supreme Court bear on the subject. Entry No. 11 of list 2 of the Seventh Schedule is education including universities, subject to the provisions of entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of list one and entry 25 of list 3. The said entries in list one deal with institutions declared by Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance, union agencies and institutions for professional, vocational, technical training etc., and the coordination and determination of standards in institutions in higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions. Entry 25 of list 3 provides for vocational and technical training of labour. The expression "education" obviously

takes in the medium of instruction, for one cannot exist without the other. A base reading of the provisions shows that excluding the matters covered by lists 1 and 3, the State legislature has exclusive jurisdiction to make a law in regard to medium of instruction. It can therefore make a law prescribing the medium or mediums in education from the primary to the post university stage. Gujarat legislature made an act imposing regional language as the sole medium of instruction. The Constitutional competency of the said act was questioned on the ground that having regard to the absence of text books, journals, competent teachers and capacity of students to understand the subject there would be inevitable lowering of standards and therefore the subject matter fell within the item 66 of list 1 which provided for the "co-ordination and determination of standards in the higher institutions. The Supreme Court held having regard to the relevant circumstances obtaining then in Gujarat that the Act providing Gujarathi as the sole medium of instruction to the exclusion of English would inevitably affect the standards and so it is covered by item 66 of list one and therefore the said Act was void. In a later decision the Supreme Court explained the combined operation of entry 11 of list 2, entry 66 of list 1 thus "if the impact of the State law providing for such standards on entry 66 of list 1 is so heavy or devastating as to wipe out or appreci-

ably abridge the central field, it (the Act) may be struck down. But that is a question of fact to be ascertained in each case". Take the case of Madras State. It proposes to provide Tamil as the medium of instruction in University education, to direct that English shall be replaced by measured steps as decided by experts and to insist that English shall continue as one of the compulsory subjects.

If an act were passed embodying the said proposals prima facie it would be within the Constitutional competence of the Madras Legislature. Unless it is established that the said Act will inevitably destroy the standards of education, it is not possible to bring the said matter within entry 66 of the Union list. In my view such a legislation providing for a progressive introduction of Tamil as a medium of instruction with an emphasis on the retention of English as a special subject throughout all the stages of education cannot be said to have such serious effects on the standards of education as to infringe on the Union subject. But a sudden switch over from English to regional language as contemplated by some other States may have that effect. Any how the States which would tinker with the language problem without adequate preparation will have to take the risk of the validity of its acts being successfully questioned by aggrieved persons.

Another important fact need be emphasised. A developing country like India which seeks to rely upon science and technology for development and hopes to play its role in International affairs cannot but adopt an International language. That English is one of the greatest languages of the world admits of no doubts. On another occasion, I described the excellence of the language in these terms; "It is a language of precision of thought and expression; it has a vocabulary of technical perfection; it is a language of science, technology, medicine, law, literature, politics, economics and commerce; it is the repository of the world's intellectual effort; it is the official language of the Commonwealth and America; it is a subject in the curriculam of Universities in many great countries; it is a language of International debates and dialogues; it has an international status For historical reasons for about 200 years it has been the official language of this country. It has become the medium of instruction of our higher education in science, law, medicine, humanities, technology, economics etc. It is the mother tongue of millions of people in our country." Therefore logic and reason dictate that we should retain it, (at any rate) for the reason that we require a highly developed international language both for enriching our regional languages and also for international dialogues. There is no reason except perhaps inferiority

complex for giving up a perfect and highly sophisticated tool of which we know and search for another of which we do not know.

Let me now take the different areas of conflict and consider some possible solutions. In regard to official language there are 3 solutions: (1) English will continue to be the sole official language till such time our country gets stabilised specialised and is prosperous. Thereafter the language problem may be tackled without any detriment to the further progress of the country. This pre-supposes a sense of priorities and self-confidence in the nation. (2) Both English and Hindi will continue to be the official languages indefinitely; (3) Both of them will continue to be the official languages till such time that all the States agree for giving up English. (4) Hindi will be medium now the sole official language.

The first solution is the best, but it was rejected by the Constituent Assembly and later by the Parliament. It is not likely that the Parliament will easily retrace its steps. If the Fourth solution were accepted, it would inevitably disintegrate the country and it is not likely that any patriotic person will support it. The second solution should satisfy both the Hindi and the non Hindi Block but the Hindi block would not agree because, it insists in the name of National prestige that Hindi should be

the sole official language in terms of the Constitution. In the non Hindi Block, there is a cleavage of opinion, but two Governments and the majority of the intelligensia of all the States would not agree to this course. So the only possible solution is the third one namely, both the languages should continue to be the official languages till all the States agree to accept Hindi as the sole official language.

With this background let us take the problem of official language. It is the language used for administrative purposes the Centre and also for inter-State communications India is a Federation. The offical language is the concern of the entire country. It implies that all the States should agree to the common official language, It is an accident that the capital is now in a Hindi area. It may be shifted in future to some other area where the language is different. It may be at present that Hindi is spoken by the largest group of people. But in future some other language may be adopted by much larger numbers. The acceptance of Hindi by all the people of the country therefore does not depend upon the present numerical strength of its votaries or even upon the accident of the capital being at present in the Hindi area, but upon its inherent worth and its superior utility for the different purposes of national life. It must by its own merit compel respect

and acceptance, Any attempt to force it down on the unwilling people will inevitably evoke resistance and defeat its purpose.

In the circumstances, the best course is to simply adopt the assurances given by the previous Government and remove all the cobwebs that gathered around it. The official language Act may be amended by deleting the provisions introduced by the amending Act of 1967 and substituting therefor a simple provision that English shall continue to be the additional official language and also for the purposes of the Parliament till all the States agree for its deletion. What is more, the resolution also should be revoked by the Parliament. This will restore the statusque and both Hindi and English will continue to be the official languages of the country, till Hindi was accepted by all the States as the sole official language of the Union.

This will give rise to some subsidiary problems. How to avoid the confusion of bi-linguism in the Central administration? Some confusion is inevitable and it is inherent in the system of bi-linguism. That is the price to be paid for the compromise. The simple course is to permit office notes to be put up and orders passed in either of the two languages. For sometime in each of the sections one or more translators may be appointed who know

English and Hindi equally well to assist the staff but in future no such difficulty arises if the 3 language formula is accepted as every candidate to the Central service would know both English and Hindi. But all the orders and notifications that go out of the office shall be in both the languages. Indeed if this process of bi-linguism goes on without one block trying to over-reach the other, it may ultimately pave the way for transition if all the States agree without substantially reducing the administrative standards in the interval.

In regard to public service examinations, there are 3 possible solutions: (1) All the candidates should answer in English; (2) The candidates from the non Hindi States should answer in English and those from Hindi States in Hindi; (3) The candidates have the option to answer in English, Hindi or in one or the other regional languages.

The first is the best, but the Hindi States would reject it. The other two solutions involve moderation. Whatever system of moderation may be adopted, it will be well-nigh impossible to lay down objective standards of evaluation. It will lead to injustice and even to manipulations and malpractices. In the circumstances, some machinery should be evolved which could function objectively without affecting the standards.

The second and third solutions may give rise to the comment that examinations in different languages will make it impossible to apply the said standards of evalution. The third solution could be dovetailed with quota system. Quotas may be fixed for the Hindi and non Hindi blocks and the examinations held and results declared separately. The Hindi Block will be examined in Hindi and the non Hindi Block in English.

The comment that this procedure will affect the calibre of the services has no meaning for it is impossible to suggest that the English and Hindi areas whose populations go into millions cannot produce separately a few hundred highly competent young men to man the services, when small countries like Japan and England are able to do so. Nor the suggestion that it will affect the integration of the country has any basis. After the selections, the candidates from a particular State should not be posted to that State, but to be allotted to another State subject to the condition that he should pass the test in the regional language of the State within the prescribed time. Such process of selection may not also infringe articles 14, or 16 of the Constitution as there is reasonable classification between the two groups on the basis of language and as the selection will not be made on the basis of the place of birth or residence but on the foot of the

language in which the examination are held and selections made. The non-Hindi block may criticise this procedure on the ground that the medium of instructions in their States is in different languages and therefore the English medium places them at a disadvantage. The answer to this criticism is that all the States who do not adopt Hindi as the official language, have the same said disadvantage. Further, as the said States will also give to their students mensive training in English language, the candidates may not find much difficulty in answering the papers in English. I realise that this suggestion may not be the best one, and may also be vulnerable to criticism based on absolutes. But in the circumstances created by the difficult language problem, that will be a pragmatic and appropriate solution which does justice to both the blocks. Indeed the third solution will have a beneficient side effect. It will encourage the students of thc non-Hindi block who have ambition to appear for the Union competitive examinations to concentrate more on the subject of English than otherwise they would.

Whatever solution is accepted it is at best a compromise and as such, it is liable to be attacked on the ground that it goes against integration. On the other hand, it may turn out to be the best solution against disintegration which the language problem threatens to bring about.

But as a part of the compromise formula all the States should accept the three language formula i. e. By the acceptance of this formula the Hindi States will be able to enrich Hindi language as it will be the medium of instruction and at the same time continue to keep close contact with English. This will also enable the non Hindi States to learn Hindi. By the process of evolution, in both the blocks, a point of time may come when the non Hindi people, may be persuaded to accept Hindi as the sole official language. It is not emotion and fanaticism but evolution and time factor that may serve the cause of Hindi.

It follows that both Hindi and English may continue to be the official languages of our country. There may be some inconveniences, duplication of work, unnecessary expenditure and undue delays. But they cannot be helped. That must be the price to be paid if a State has no sense of priorities and places emotion before progress. But it may be asked for how long this situation will have to continue. I would suggest that after 15 years, or after such other period that may be agreed upon a referendum may be held in each of the non Hindi States to find the wishes of the people. If all the States do not agree for Hindi being the sole official language, bilingualism will have to be continued. After 10 years thereafter another referrendum may be held separately

in each State. If even on the second occasion all the States will not agree for Hindi being the sole official language, we will have no option but continue both the languages i. e. English and Hindi as official languages. I am suggesting referendum because in some States there is clear conflict between the men in power on one hand and the intelligensia and the student population on the other who are really affected by the language problem.

In the area of Courts and Laws, the integration of the Country demands the adoption of a single developed language. I have given in my speech at the Madras Convention why English should continue to be the language of laws and courts.

What would be the result of replacing English by the 15 languages in the High Courts and the Supreme Court? The Indian legal field will become a veritable babel of voices. Laws will be in 15 languages, arguments will be in 15 languages, and the Central laws, arguments and judgments of the Supreme Court will be in Hindi. There cannot be a better way of balkanizing our country. The obvious solution is to continue English as the language in Courts and the Law. But here as elsewhere, in view of the present temper of the country a working solution will have to be evolved. I would make the following suggestions:

(1) Regional language may be adopted as the language of the subordinate courts but the judgment, orders and decrees may be drafted in English; (2) The language of the Supreme Court and the High Courts shall be in English for all purposes. (3) The statutes shall be drafted in English and the authorised translations in regional languages may be given. This will have to continue till Hindi or any other regional language reaches the standard of English and could replace it effectively.

In regard to education, the best course is to continue English as medium of instruction in Colleges till a regional language attains the standard of English. As this is not likely to be accepted, an alternative will have to be considered and suggested. The medium of instruction may be in regional languages during the primary and secondary stages except for science subjects at the secondary school stage. In the colleges, two methods or teaching are suggested for the subjects of humanities. (1) "bi-linguialism;" (2) parallelism. By bi-linguialism I mean both the teacher and the taught can use both the regional language and English for the purpore of teaching, study and examination. By this process of constant association and interaction, the regional languages will be enriched and the scholars therein can gradually produce original books in regional languages. Our education system

should produce thinkers and not translators. By 'parallelism' I mean there may be separate colleges some with the regional language as the medium of instruction and some with English as the medium of instruction. But this will produce two different classes and further weaken the educational system. My preference is for the former and that should work during the transitional period. If this experiment is successful in the teaching of humanities, it may gradually be extended to other subjects. But the process of extension should be by measured steps left solely to the discretion of experts. But the post graduate courses particularly in science and technology should be the last in the line of progression for any hasty step in that regard will irretrievably affect the progress of our country. English shall continue to be the medium of instruction in such strides for an indefinite period. There are many central institutions, educational, technological, scientific and such others and it will be fair to all the States if the medium of instructions therein shall continue to be English till such time when all the States agree for its replacement by Hindi. But this compromise formula will turn out to be a great handicap not only in the national field of education but also in the field of international competition in this atomic age unless all the States agree to give intensive course in English through all the Stages of education. The deep knowledge of English

will enable our scholars to tap the courses of expanding knowledge in different disciplines and to project their knowledge through regional languages. This will also enable them to make a mark in the international arena and also contribute to the sum total of the world knowledge.

In the Parliament if the present practice is followed, it will satisfy all the States. Under the act members can speak both in Hindi and English and the Chairman of the Raja Sabha and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha have the descretion to permit a member to speak in his mother tongue and I understand the practice is to permit him to do so if he cannot express himself properly in either Hindi or English.

In the State administrative field over the years, through the medium of English a uniform and efficient system has been evolved. It enabled the smooth functioning of all services and easy mobility of personnel from one state to another. But all the States are now bent upon running the administration in their regional language. But the transition should be done by the process of bi-linguilism for, it enables the incorporation of technical official terms in the regional languages and make the suitable vehicles of administration.

The compromise formula reflected in the various aspects of the language problem should

satisfy reasonably the aspirations of the two blocks. The Hindi block gains its main point in that Hindi is accepted as one of the official languages. It has the additional advantage of the said official language being also its regional language and the medium of instruction in its educational institutions. It gives it the opportunity to enrich Hindi if it goes the right way and enable it in its own right, in course of time, to become the sole official language of India. This can be achieved only if English and Hindi do not part company. Unless English is made a compulsory subject and intensive coaching is given therein all the stages of education, it will not be possible for Hindi to acquire the necessary standard to receive the acceptance of other regional groups. Its candidates can answer the papers of the Union Public Service Examinations in Hindi and can discharge their duties through Hindi. As it is, it gets all it wants except that it cannot immediately force Hindi on the people of the other block but must wait, till it is accepted by it.

By the compromise no doubt the non Hindi Block looses the main point. It has to accept Hindi as one of the official languages. But it has secured English as an additional official language till such time as all the States agree to give it up. As both the languages would be required in the Central Offices, and at the time of selection of candidates as the requirement

to the union service, it cannot complain of additional burden. As it maintains the high standards of English as a special subject at all the stages of education and also adopts 'billinguiliam', its candidates can complete in Union Public Service Examination through the medium of English and also maintain a constructive dialogue with foreign countries. The quota system I suggested gives the blocks its proportionate representation in Union services. It can encourage its regional languages by gradually introducing them in all the affairs of the State. It may give up English as an offfcial language only when Hindi attains high standard comparable to English and acceptance in its own right by referendum. This compromise will work only if the political and sentimental animosity for English is given up and if that great language is utilised to serve and to enrich all the regional languages of our country.

In the conflict between English and Hindi and regional language, the minorities in the States should not be allowed to suffer. In this context, articles 29(1), 30, 347, 350 A, 350 B which preserves for them their linguistic identity, shall be borne in mind. This conference may also consider the ways and means of protecting their rights.

The student section of the community is most interested in this problem. But it is

sought to be solved behind their back. This is one of the causes for the student agitation, sometimes, taking a violent form. There is a strong feeling among students that the State responds only to such an agitational approach. But this is inconsistent with the democratic way of life and further it does not solve any problem. Yet it is necessary that someway should be found to enable them to express their views. I would suggest that this problem may be discussed objectively by the students of each college and a solution suggested by way of / resolution and that thereafter a conference of the representatives of all the colleges of the State may be held to discuss the matter and express their views. I do not think any responsible Government could ignore the voice of such a conference.

Lastly, it is wrong to treat English as a foreign language. It has been with us for some centuries. It is the mother tongue of Anglo-Indians; it is the language of communication of the entire intelligensia in the country. Most of the people in Southern India understand English. It has served and is serving all national purposes; It can contribute most to enrich Hindi to enable it to become the medium of instruction of the composite culture of India within the meaning of article 351 of the Constitution. It is but right that it should be included in the 8th Schedule as one of the languages of the country.

I shall now summarise my suggestions. The best course is to retain the statusquo and continue English as the sole official language, as medium of instruction in colleges and as the language of laws and courts. The problem may be taken up later on after our country has become stabilised and prosperous. But as this is not likely to be accepted by men in power, my alternative compromise formula may be stated thus :

(1) The Official Language Act of 1963 as amended by Act of 1968 be amended by the deletion of all the provisions introduced by the amending Act and introducing in the principal Act a clear provision that English should also continue to be an official language along with Hindi till such time that all the states through referendum separately held within the prescribed time in each State agreed to give up English as on official language. The Resolution should be revoked.

(2) The language of the administration of the States should be both English and the Regional language.

(3) English should be included in the 8th Schedule as one of the languages of the country.

(4) The regional language should be the sole medium of instruction in schools except in science subjects at the secondary school stage which may be taught in English. But English

should be a compulsory subject of serious study from the beginning.

(5) The 3 language formula, the regional language, English and Hindi should be included in all the educational institutions.

(6) Even if the regional languages should replace English as medium of instruction in colleges, English should be taught as a special subject upto completion of University course and intensive coaching should be given therein.

(7) Replacing English by regional language as a medium of instruction at the University level, is a delicate and difficult task. The phasing and the steps for replacement should be left entirely to expert educationists.

(8) The medium of instruction in the professional colleges, research courses and post-graduate studies should continue to be in English.

(9) The medium of instruction in the Centrally controlled educational and other institutions should continue to be in English.

(10) English should continue to be the sole language of the High Courts and the Supreme Court.

It may be left to the succeeding generations having regard to the experience gained in other fields, to review the position in regard to items 7, 8 and 9. But meanwhile, every sincere attempt should be made by the States to

encourage the scholars to conduct journals and write books of high standard in various subjects in regional languages It is not enough to have an idea, it must be pursued with vigour.

In regard to Union Public Service Examinations, quotas for employment may be fixed on some equitable basis to the Hindi and non-Hindi areas and examinations be held separately for Hindi block through Hindi medium and non-Hindi block through English medium, but for the purpose of integration, the candidates so selected may be posted in States forming part of the block other than the from which they are read.

I am not an expert. I have expressed only my passing thoughts. There is now a triangular conflict between English, Regional language and Hindi. This conflict may be solved by ousting English and substituting it by Hindi or by retaining English as a perenial source of enrichment of both Hindi and the other regional language. The former solution inevitably deflates the entire national life, and the later enables us to march with our heads high along with the progressive nations of the world I have no doubt that this gathering of experienced and learned men in different walks of life will discuss the problem from different aspects and evolve an acceptable solution by all the parties concerned.

**I have now the great pleasure to inaugurate this Conference.**

## M. N. Parameswaran Pillai, B. A., B. L.,

— General Secretary.
Non-Hindi States Conference. (Trivandrum)

Friends,

You are all aware that it was in 1947 that we got our Independence. Soon after that we gave unto ourselves a Constitution which itself has been drafted in the English language – a language which, it is strange to note, the protagonists of Hindi treat with bitter hatred now, without realizing that it was through English Language that we attained our Unity and Independence.

**Chapter on Language — Destructive of National Unity.**

In no other country in the world we have a Constitution which contains a Chapter on language similar to the one in our Constitution (namely Chapter 1 – Part XVII). Though we have acquired our Independence after a long and strenuous fight and much national sufferings, the framers of our Constitution have incorporated therein a Chapter on language which is destructive in many respects. In the provisions relating to language they have most unwisely, I would say, sown the seeds of disruption and disintegration of the country. It was in the wave of enthusiasm and excessive joy that followed the wake of

Independence that those provisions regarding the official and court language happened to be embodied in the Constitution. The members of the Constituent Assembly who ushered the Constitution for the Nation had not bestowed as much attention and foresight as was expected of them. At that time when reason actually gave way to passion none of them thought about the serious repercussions and evil consequences of what they were doing. It is only much later, when emotions subsided and the seed that was sown began to sprout and commenced to bear the poisonous fruits, detrimental to the solidarity and healthy growth and progress of the nation, that we began to open our eyes and realise the evil potentialities of the provisions contained in the Chapter on language.

**Working of Disintegrating forces.**

The result is that the States of Manipur and Nagaland have even defied the Constitution and have openly declared English as their official language. The State of Madras has gone a head and has opposed the imposition of Hindi by exhibiting even militant and subversive activities, the type of which we have witnessed only in the 1942 agitation. On this language issue the State of Madras has openly demanded even a secesstion from the Indian Union. There is equally very strong feeling of resentment and antagonism in the States of

Kerala, Mysore and Andhra against the imposition of Hindi by the Central Government. Bengal too is in support of this agitation. All the people in these important States are fully convinced that the imposition of Hindi on the unwilling people of the Non-Hindi States is being vigorously pushed through by the Centre with the sinister Political motive for establishing Hindi Imperialism in India, against which our great men like Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Mr. P. Subbarayan and Rajaji and a host of others have given us timely warning. Even in the Hindi speaking areas, I know there is a strong current of opinion among all right-thinking people against this foolish, unwise, ruinous and disastrous language policy of the Government of India. Every sober and right-minded citizen who has the paramount interest of the nation at large and a deep concern for the future generation must think it as his bounden duty to resist the imposition of Hindi. What is the fun, I ask, in talking about national integration by going to the Kashmir Valley when those in power are consciously sowing the seeds of disruption all over the country by adhering to a wrong language policy.

The demon of Hindi Imperialism which has raised its monstrous head beyond the Vindiyan mountains and which is threatening our very existence as a nation, must be met in the same way and manner Lord Sri Krishna has been

able to meet and deal with Poothana deputed by Kamsa to destroy the Lord by treacherous breast feeding.

## Why Kerala was passive in the beginning.

It is true that for some time in the beginning, when Madras was stoutly resisting the attempted imposition of Hindi, Kerala remained quiet and passive. Our attitude has been unfortunately misunderstood and misconstrued by the Congress President, Mr. Nijalingappa, and also by the Central Government. I may in this connection avail myself of the opportunity to disillusion them all of this erroneous impression. It was not because Keralites were willing to accept Hindi that they remained quiet, but it was due to the obvious reason that we in Kerala honestly believed in the solemn assurances given to the Nation by our late Prime Ministers, Pandit Nehru and Lal Bahadur Sastri and which were reaffirmed by our former President, Dr. Radhakrishnan. All these persons in authority had repeatedly told the Nation that Hindi will not be thrust on the Non-Hindi speaking people so long as they are unwilling to accept it.

In the course of his speech delivered on the floor of Lok Sabha on 7—1—'58 Pandit Nehru gave an assurance to the Nation that English will be retained as an associate language as long as the people require it and that he

would leave the decision for that not on the Hindi knowing people but to the Non-Hindi knowing people. After the receipt of the Report of the Parliamentary official language Committee, when the Congress Parliamentary Party met on 12—11—1957, he had confirmed the resolutions of the Working Committee that for entrance to the Public Service, Hindi should not be made compulsory.

Again on 2—1—1958 in the Press Conference held in Delhi and also on 31—1—'63 Pandit Nehru declared in unambiguous terms that "a question like this can be decided only in a friendly Co-operative atmosphere and imposition of any decision by the North on the South or by the South on the North is neither possible nor desirable. We must, he said, evolve a decision which is agreeable to the great majority of the people in the North and the South". On another occasion he said that by the banishment of English we will be closing the door against World knowledge for ever. Our late Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Sastri stated at the All India Convocation of the Youth Conference held in 1962 that "English is more or less a common language of all States and communications between the States and Centre is in English and if English were to be dropped, India would be disintegrated and the question of language should be considered in a wider context, - the context of national integration."

Dr. Radhakrishnan, our former President, while addressing the Joint Session of the Parliament on 17—2—1965 declared to the Nation that the assurances given by Pandit Nehru and reaffirmed by Mr. Sastri will be carried out without qualification and reservation.

**Breach of the above solemn Assurances.**

But the moment we Keralites came to realize that it was foolish on their part to have put implicit faith in the honest intentions of our present Central Government, they started agitation in 1965 against the imposition of Hindi in the State. Not only on the question of language but also on many other matters like the privy purse of the Princes, the Central Government have shown that they have no scruples in violating contractual obligations and breaking solemn assurances.

**Need for a Union of Non-Hindi States.**

Friends, I need hardly tell you that it is only by our standing together and putting up a united front of opposition to the imposition of Hindi that we can succeed in effectively resisting this attempted establishment of Hindi Imperialism and Hindi Domination in India. I hope you have all read in the newspapers what that arch Hindi fanatic, Seth Govinda Das, has said at the public meeting at Lucknow

on the 20th of December 1968. No wonder, backed by the Central Government, he had the audacity to say that all Government servants who have not learned Hindi should be dismissed from service. In a democratic set up such fanatics can never be tolerated. They have really no place in the country.

**Dangers of the present language policy.**

The present language policy of the Government of India, supported by such Hindi fanatics, is really fostering linguistic animosities and is creating fissiparous tendencies amongst the various linguistic groups, which, I am afraid, will ultimately result in the total disintegration and Balkanization of our country. It is, therefore, to record our emphatic and unanimous protest against the present language policy of the Centre that we have met here in this Conference. I am quite confident that if all Non-Hindi States unite together our efforts will be crowned with success.

**We are not Anti-national elements.**

We have heard the Hindi protagonists going about and saying that those who oppose the imposition of Hindi are anti-national elements. Really, I should say, that those who advocate the imposition of Hindi, whatever may be their official position and patriotic impulses, they alone are guilty of subversion of

Indian Unity. Does any one, I ask, dare to condemn the entire galaxy of the greatmen of India who have made big sacrifices and suffered much in the freedom fight, as anti-national elements for the mere reason that they are now opposing this ruinous language policy of the Centre Government. I make bold to say that we who oppose the present ruinous language policy of the Government are indeed more patriotic than those who are at the helm of affairs and are causing disintegration of the country by pursuing a foolish and wrong language policy, which I have no hesitation to characterize as an anti-national policy.

**This language issue is raised at the inopportune moment.**

It is indeed our misfortune that the Centre Government has raised this language issue at this most inopportune moment when we are faced with innumerable and insurmountable problems, both internal and external – internal like the serious and vital food problem, border and water disputes, political and communal disturbances based even on the trivial cow-slaughter issue, – and external like the constant threat of invasions from Pakistan and Red China. In fact after the Independence the Congress Government at the Centre has only created more problems for us than what they have been able to solve. It will be wise and

profitable to remember in this connection that the language issue had been the cause of disruption in some countries in the world, as was the case in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and, therefore, we should not give a handle to our politicians to grind their axes.

## To exist as a nation a single language is not necessary.

To exist and continue as a nation the use of single language by all the people of the country is not at all necessary. In Switzerland 4 languages - German, French, Italian and Romanish are used for all official purpose. In Canada both English and French are used as official languages. In Belgium 3 languages - French, Flemish and German are used. In Russia 16 languages are recognized, but linguistic antagonism is avoided in Russia because all these 16 languages are given equal status. The Soviet Gazette and the Soviet laws are all published in all the 16 languages. In Japan English is taught as a compulsory language especially for scientific and technical studies. Since 1918 English has been taught as a leading second language even in France. In Scandinavia too English is a leading second language after the 2nd World War. In Italy and Spain English has made considerable head way. In the Middle Eastern Countries bordering the Mediteranean French used to be

popular in the past, but English is now widely used. In Polland and Czechoslovika and other Eastern European Countries English is widely known and studied. According to U. Thant in the U. N. Secretariat French which was predominent at one time has now been replaced by English.

When countries like the above are able to get on prosperously with more than one language without impairing their national solidarity, one fails to understand why we in India should be over anxious to insist upon the use of one language, and that too the most undeveloped one according to our Constitution. If in the name of unity Government are advocating the use of a single language, Hindi, on the false pretext that it is the language of the majority of the people of India, I would in all earnestness ask them whether they are prepared to insist upon the minorities in India, namely the Mohamadans, Christians and others to relinguish their own relingious faiths and embrace Hinduism which is admittedly the religion of the majority in India.

**English is a World Language.**

English is not now the language of the Englishmen alone. It has become a world language. Mr. U. Thant, the U. N. Secretary General, has reported in 1967 that in 75 out of

85 countries in the world English is taught and in 40 out of this 75 it is made compulsory. From a statistics published in the Swarajya it is seen that in 56 out of 59 countries in the world, English is used for all international purposes and in 49 countries it is used both as international and domestic language. As pertinently observed by one of the honourable judges of the Bombay High Court a nation may speak a language but language really has no nationality.

## Hindi is neither the national language nor the language of the majority.

Two wrong and absurd notions prevail among some of our countrymen as the result mostly of false propaganda. One of these is that Constitution has declared Hindi as the National language of the country and the other is that Hindi is the language spoken by the majority of the people of India. Both are palpably wrong and fallacious notions. No where in the Constitution has Hindi been declared as our sole national language or common language. The Constitution has recognised now 15 languages as the nation's languages and God alone knows how many more are going to be recognised hereafter. There is agitation going on for the recognition of Maithili Language.

The census figures of 1961 reveal that the percentage of Hindi speaking people is only 42%. Even this percentage is inclusive of people speaking Urdu, Hindustani and Punjabi. In no sense can this 42% be said to be a majority of the population. Why should this undeveloped language spoken by the so-called 42% be thrust upon a majority of 58%.

**Real object of the language policy.**

The reason for all this is quite obvious. By the present language policy an attempt is being made by the illiterate minority to rule the literate majority in the Non-Hindi States. There was no united India at any time and there is no national or common language for the country as a whole. Though our Constitution envisages a common citizenship for all, the irrefutable fact is that India still remains as it were before as a country inhabited by people having diverse religious faiths like Hinduism, Mohamadanism, Christanity and the like and having also different civilization like the Aryan and Dravidian, different culture, customs and manners and also having separate personal laws and speaking different languages and dialects, India is still a conglomeration of many hostile races, castes, tribes, nationalities and religious groups. How can the people of such a country be called a nation in the true sense? Even the Constitution envisages India

only as a union of States, using different languages and enjoying freedom save in respect of matters pertaining to defence, communication and foreign policy.

In the above set up the true intention of the Central Government, which is mainly controlled by the Hindi fanatics in the North, is to establish a Hindi Imperialism or domination in the Country. Already the people of Hindi speaking areas have established a sort of political, industrial, commercial and economic supermacy over the Non-Hindi speaking States. By thrusting Hindi on us, as observed by Rajaji, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Dr. P. Subbarayan and very many others, the Hindi fanatics want to complete this domination over us. No self respecting Indian of Non-Hindi States can tolerate such an attempt at domination.

## Chapter on language is misunderstood and misconstrued.

Regarding language the Constitution has recognised 14 (now 15 by an amendment), different languages as the national languages, of the people of India out of the 179 languages and 544 dialects spoken in the country according to the linguistic survey. It may look paradoxical to have 15 languages as national languages for a nation, but there is nothing strange in a nation like India with 3 national names, - India, Bharath and Hindustan and 3

national songs snch as Janagana-Mana, Vande Matharam and Hindustan Hamara. There is nothing strange in these matters. When there is no common religion and culture and no single thing in common for the whole people of India where is the foundation for the insistence of a single language for the whole of India? Is not Russia having 16 languages from out of the 200 languages and dialects spoken in that country?

## English is also a mother tongue.

The Constitution does not provide for a single national or common language for the people of India. On the other hand it has now recognized 15 different languages. Besides the 15, English is used through out as a link language and is further used as the mother-tongue of the Anglo-Indians who also form a section of the Indian population. Pandit Nehru himself has admitted on the floor of Lok Sabha that English should be considered as the mother-tongue of the Anglo-Indians and that Anglo-Indian Schools should continue to enjoy facilities for teaching English language. When English is thus recognized as the mother tongue of a section of the people of India, how can any sensible Indian taboo it as a foreign language?

Since the spirit of nationalism was conceived and nurtured in India in the English language, the English language can rightly be

called the national language of the country, a language which the nation has been using well neigh for more than 2 centuries. The spirit of nationalism sprung up and it was nurtured in the country through the medium of English and finally culminated in the Constitution drafted in English after the Independence.

**Difference between official language and national language.**

Official language is different from national language. A national language is one spoken by the large majority of the people inhabiting a country. Official language is one which is used for the official or administrative purposes, such as communications between States interse and the States and Centre and also for all international purposes. Article 343(1) of the Constitution only lays down that Hindi in Devanagari script shall be the official language of the Union. For international purposes none of the 15 languages including Hindi can be said to be a fit one. When our Constitution itself has recognised 15 languages, why should one out of them, especially the most undeveloped of them be selected for a favoured treatment. Art. 351 of the Constitution itself has declared that Hindi is an undeveloped language which requires enrichment with the aid of the other languages included in Schedule VIII. This privileged and unique status intended to be given to Hindi over the other much developed

languages like Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kanarese at enormous costs from the exchequer is sure to create a militant linguism which will ultimately lead to the disintegration of the country. Hindi cannot satisfy any of our national requirements. It is of very little use for carrying on international, cultural or commercial intercourse with the outside world. For acquiring scientific, medical and technical knowledge neither Hindi nor any other regional language specified in Schedule VIII is now fit. The discrimination and preference shown for Hindi has already created a profound regional hostility between the various linguistic groups. This sort of linguistic animosity and rivalry is rapidly paving the way for the total Balkanization of India.

There is no necessity also for thrusting Hindi as a link language. A link language is intended for the intelligentia or the elites of the country for intellectual intercourse and for exchange of thoughts and ideas. English alone can now serve as a vehicle for the above purpose. A link language is not needed for the ordinary citizen, for the tillers of the soil or for other labourers and coolies.

**Constitutional provisions examined.**

The authors of the Constitution were fully conscious that Hindi could not occupy the status of an official language in the near future.

That was exactly the reason why they introduced Article 343(2) providing for the continuance and use of English language for 15 years more from the date of the Constitution. Further, even after 15 years if the Parliament thought that Hindi could not replace English they can by virtue of Art. 343(3) extend the period indefinitely by an ordinary legislative enactment without seeking to amend the Constitution by a 2/3 majority. Instead of attempting such a legislative enactment the Government have, by passing an Amendment Act and Resolution, seriously hurt the feelings of the large majority of the people of India occupying the 13 out of the 19 Non-Hindi Speaking States.

On 31-1-1963 Pandit Nehru rightly said that the language question is one which ought to be decided in a friendly co-operative atmosphere and imposition of any decision by the North on the South or by the South on the North is neither possible nor desirable. Is this what the Government have done or are aiming to do? It was in the wave of national enthusiasm and excessive joy that followed Independence that these language provisions in the Constitution happened to find a place therein. If whip had not been issued to the Congress members of the Constituent Assembly and freedom of vote had been allowed to them, the fate of Art. 343 would, no doubt, have been

different. So also in the Lok Sabha when the language Amendment Bill and the Resolution came up for consideration, if freedom of vote had been allowed to the Congress members the result would have been totally different and the present unrest and unpleasant situation could have been safely avoided.

The present partiality and preference shown to one of the 15 languages will certainly foster strong regional antagonism among the different linguistic groups which will ultimately bring about the disruption of the national unity. Everyone knows that if any special favouritism is shown by a parent to one of his children it will create family discord and unpleasantness. Same will no doubt be the result in a country if Government begin to give any privileged position and status to any one of the 15 regional languages. Any good Government would have desisted from creating such a situation in the country.

Imposition of Hindi will not accelerate the unity of the country. It will create only hostility between the different linguistic groups. It will only foster bitter heart burning and rankling instead of producing unity. When a principle of justice is materially ignored we cause a wound which will not heal easily. He who points out this is not the offender but he who inflicts the same.

## A language cannot be imposed by force, threat or inducement.

History has taught us that no religion or language could be thrust on others by force, threat or inducement. The Hindi fanatics who dream that it could be done by these means will soon be disillusioned. Force will always generate force and not surrender.

A majority rule is always different from democracy. The former is the rule by force and violence. It is such a kind of rule that the Central Government was having in the matter of passing the Language Amendment Act and the Resolution. In a true democracy opinion of the minority is never completely flouted. The imposition of Hindi is stoutly opposed by the Madras Government and we in Kerala are happy that our Chief Minister has taken a bold stand at Jaipur where he declared that if this kind of unwise language policy is pursued by the Centre he too will be forced to join Mr. Annadurai, the Chief Minister of Madras. In a letter addressed to me he had made his above stand clear to us.

## Hindi cannot be developed by preparing a glossary and insisting others to use the same.

A language cannot be developed by sitting in an arm chair, coining words, preparing a glossary and compelling the use of such coined

words. Every language must grow spontaneously of its own accord and of its own intrinsic merits. For the growth of a language there must be an inner surge for the intellectual people who alone can appreciate the value of language. A language like religion cannot be forced down upon an unwilling people.

**English not forced down upon us by the Britishers.**

It is wrong to say that English language has been forced down on us by the Britishers. On the other hand it was our own men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy who requested the British Government to start English Schools in India for imparting European knowledge. Both he and Surendranath Banerji went to the extent of thanking the Britishers for having given us the opportunity to learn English and inbibe through it European knowledge. In fact at that time there was very strong opposition in England because the Englishmen at home feared that they may lose India if English Language and English democratic institutions were given to us. That fear has now turned to be true.

Unlike our present Government the Britishers never aimed to kill our regional languages by thrusting their language on us. If we refer to Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of

1854 which is considered to be the Magna Carta of Education in India, we will find how impartial the British administrators were The Despatch stated that regional languages spoken by the people of India will be duly encouraged and English education will be given for acquiring European knowledge. Hence, there is therefore no foundation for making the allegation that English was thrust on us by the then ruling party.

**Impact of English on Regional languages.**

There is again no foundation for the fear that English, if continued, will kill Hindi and other regional languages of India. Though we have been studying English for the past two centuries and more it has not killed anyone of our regional languages. Everyone of the regional languages of India has only developed, improved and enriched by the impact of English by a process of free and liberal absorption of words. Every language develop like that. The Malayalam language has developed tremendously on account of its impact with English and other languages and we find that it has now 1½ lakhs of words I think similar is the advantage which Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Marathi and Bengali have gained by similar impact. The English language too has developed like that. In 1900 there were only 2 lakhs of words in the Oxford Dictionary. Now it has increased to 6 lakhs.

**English should not be thrown out as a foreign language.**

English should not be thrown out as a foreign language. To us in the South, in that sense, Hindi is also an equally foreign language. When English is the mother tongue of a section of Indians namely the Anlo-Indians how can it be said to be a foreign language. Further, no language can be rejected as foreign. A people may speak a language but language has no nationality.

We are living in a rapidly advancing and changing world and English which has become a world language is an easy medium or vehicle for exchanging ideas and thoughts. After the II World War the U. N. and other international organisations are trying to bring the nations of the World closer and closer. From this stage we are clearly moving towards realization of a one World Government. Hence it is absolutely essential to keep English which has attained the status of a World language to our great advantage. For unity of thought and ideas, for uniformity of laws and administration it is necessary to retain English. To throw away English, as Pandit Nehru once remarked, is to throw away the treasure of knowledge for ever.

The works of Swami Vivakananda, Aurabindo, Tagore, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Pandit

Nehru and others are all in English and they are indeed a national asset. It is through English language that they were able to carry India's message abroad. Any crusade against English should therefore be resisted with all our might.

It is because of the wide spread English education that we have been able to send several thousands of our people to different parts of the world. From a statement published by Ambassador Bowles in the American Reporter we find that more than 50,000 Indians are in America, either studying and undergoing training or employed as Professors, Lecturers and Research Scholars. Likewise several thousands of Indians are in England, East Africa, Canada, Malaya and Ceylon etc. In fact in every nook and corner of the world we can find several Indians. How many Indian families are being maintained by such men who have gone abroad. Banishment of English from our midst will certainly affect adversely our economic position as well. Our tourist industry will also be considerably affected if English is totally banished from the country.

**Percentage of English knowing people of India.**

The statement by Morarji Desai in London that only 2% of the Indians alone know English is nothing but a travesty of truth. If correct

statistics are taken, I am sure that the percentage of English knowing people will be higher than the percentage of Hindi knowing people. Every year in Kerala something like one and a half lakhs of students appear for the school final examination. Similarly from other States in the country also large number of students appear every year for such examinations. Besides these what about the older generation of English knowing people?

## Medium of Instruction in Schools and Colleges.

Education in a State subject and the Centre Government is not justified in interfering with the education policy of the State Governments. When Hindi is not declared to be the national language of India, for that matter we have 15 languages recognised in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution, the interference from the Centre in the Education policy of the States is quite uncalled for and thoroughly unwarranted. There is no moral justification for the Centre to spend huge amounts for establishing about 118 Centre Schools in the various States for mainly teaching Hindi and also separate Hindi training Colleges in the States. When we are repeatedly told that there are no sufficient funds for procuring rice and other food materials, what is the justification for allotting 19 crores of Rupees, most of

which is set apart for developing and propagating Hindi alone, which is after all only one of the 15 regional languages?

None of the 15 regional languages is now fit to be adopted as the medium of instruction especially in Colleges and Universities, particularly for imparting instructions in scientific, medical, legal and technical courses. It is not possible or easy to study nuclear physics or other similar subjects in any of the regional languages, especially in Hindi which is the most undeveloped language among the 15 regional languages recognised by the Constitution. Out of a false spirit of nationalism Ceylon banished English in 1956 and introduced Sinhalee as the medium of instruction in their educational institutions. But now, after 12 years of bitter experience, their Education Commission has recommended a switch back to English. No sane and reasonable Indian would wish to have such an experience. In the name of false nationalism one should not ruin the country and its future generation. With the banishment of English we will have to remain as frogs in the well. If regional languages alone become the medium of instruction, our Universities will almost become a stranger to the others in the matter of interplay of thoughts and ideas. English should not, therefore, be banished from our secondary schools and Colleges. A language started at a

later stage cannot be studied well and easily. It must be started early and speaking spread over a period of several years.

**The three language formula.**

The three language formula is nothing but a great dupe. By this the attempt is to thrust in Hindi through the back door and kill every other regional language. I need hardly tell you how the other regional languages are going to suffer if Hindi is pushed to the forefront and compulsorily taught in every school and used in every sphere. It is admitted by Mr. Chavan himself that the 3 language formula will certainly create an additional burden on the school going children of the Non-Hindi States. When the Students of the Non-Hindi States have to unnecessarily tax their brain by studying 3 languages it is possible that the students in the Hindi areas can easily manage with two languages and mostly with one single language, namely the Hindi Language. Further what is the earthly use or particular advantage for a student of Hindi area in studying only one of the several Southern languages. Friends, we in the Non-Hindi States must have the boldness and courage to say that we are not prepared to accept anything other than a two language formula, namely English and our mother tongue. It is indeed gratifying to note that the Kerala Government has passed an Act

adopting Malayalam as the official language and English as the link language.

## Language to be used in Courts and in Legislatures.

Regarding thelanguage to be used in Courts and Legislatures the provisions in the Constitution are entirely different. Art. 348 has omitted these fields from the automatic 15 years period and has provided that unless Parliament otherwise prescribed the language for legislation and judicial administration shall be the English Language. Constitution has also laid down that the authentic text in these matters shall be the English text. Recently, you may remember when the question of translation of all our laws into Hindi came up for consideration, Mr. Chavan pointed out the difficulty of carrying out this proposal without an amendment of the Constitutional provision. This has also been made clear, by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court while inaugurating the Hindi Translation of the Supreme Court Reports.

If the regional languages are used in the various High Courts and Hindi in the Supreme Court it will certainly cause the breakdown of our judicial system. If this switch over from English to the regional languages is made, then all existing Central and State laws, Rules and Notifications etc., and the Law Reports of

our former Federal Court, the Supreme Court and of all the High Courts in India will have to be translated into all the 15 languages. Besides, the Law Reports of England, America, Canada and other civilized Countries, which are almost daily used in the Supreme Court and High Courts have also to be translated into the different regional languages. For comparative studies parallel laws of other countries have also to be translated into all the regional languages. How all this will be possible when we have not got suitable vocabulary in our regional languages? What tremendous expenditure will have to be incurred from the public offers, - expenditure which could be more profitably used for nation building activities? If English is totally banished from our midst how is this translation staff to be replenished in future.

For a uniform administration of laws all judges and lawyers will have to study all the 15 languages. So, the switch over to regional languages in Courts will certainly tell upon the efficiency and proficiency of lawyers and judges. It will preclude the mobility of lawyers and judges and Art. 222 of the Constitution will be rendered nugatory. The result will be a complete break down of the efficient judicial system which we have built up in the country. After the switch over the legal systems of other civilized countries in the world by which we

are benefitted are going to become closed systems for us for ever.

## Translation work and its difficulties

It is indeed a herculean task and a colossal waste of public money, time and energy to embark upon this stupendous task of translation of all laws, rules and notifications and law reports and also all literary, scientific and technical books into Hindi. From the Report published by the Indian Science Congress Association, we find that in the scientific domain itself every month, something like 600 journals and magazines, and 12,000 to 13,000 books are imported into India on various science which are published in the U. K., U. S. A., and U. S. S. R., and other advanced countries. How is it possible to keep pace with the translation work of all these works? If English is completely displaced from our country where can we have and how can we replenish the staff for doing the translation work in future?

## How to avert Hindi Domination?

Since the date of Independence we have been noticing a steady, systematic and calculated attempt on the part of the Hindi speaking people to establish a Hindi domination over the Non-Hindi States. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee,

P. Subbarayan and Rajaji had given us timely warning about this attempt on the part of the Hindi zealots of the North. They have told us in unmistakable language that by the imposition of Hindi the Northeners are trying to establish Hindi Imperialism by creating a privileged Hindi speaking people in all departments of public life.

For competitive examinations for all India Services like I. A. S, and I. P. S., the Non-Hindi speaking people will be discriminated and they will consequently suffer in the matter of recruitment. It is therefore a matter for us all to seriously think whether for the sake of Hindi we should allow ourselves to be reduced to the rank of second class citizens of the Indian Union.

The question how to avoid this domination is engaging the anxious and serious attention of all right thinking people of India. With the present voting strength in the Parliament, U. P., M. P., Bihar and Rajasthan can dictate their mind to the rest of India. Already a sort of political, economic and industrial supermacy has been established by them over us. By imposing Hindi they are now aiming to complete this domination. By a dress regulation they are compelling our school going girls in the Central Schools to wear the North Indian dress also. This existing and

perpetual danger arising from a brute majority in the Parliament can be avoided only if we are able to secure some safeguards either by geremandering the Constituences or by getting equal representation atleast in the Rajya Sabha just as in America and Russia where we find equal representation is given to every federal unit however small in size it may be. The next move must be to get the Constitution amended so as to achieve this object. Otherwise this danger and menace will continue for ever.

**Conclusion.**

It has therefore become an absolute necessity for our self preservation and protection that atleast all the Non-Hindi States join together and put up a united front for achieving all our above aims.

I would, therefore appeal to all right-minded people of the Non-Hindi States, irrespective of castes, creed and political affiliations, to unite and stand together and fight for our existence as self respecting people of the Union.

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**Thiru. K. A. P. Viswanatham,**

— Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Non–Hindi States' Conference.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In this illustrious City of Coimbatore, well-known for its hoary traditions and pre-eminence in the industrial field, it is with great pleasure and gratitude that I welcome all those who have gathered here to attend the non-Hindi Speaking Peoples' Conference. I am particularly grateful to Thiru P. Kothanda Rao, the eminent intellectual of Mysore, and Thiru K. Subba Rao, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, for their kindness in agreeing to participate in this conference and I extend to them a special welcome. Thiru Subba Rao has graciously agreed to perform the inauguration function while Thiru Kothanda Rao has been good enough to accept our invitation to preside over the conference. I also warmly welcome those scholars from Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, West Bengal and Pondicherry and those from several parts of Tamilnadu who will be participating in large numbers in this Conference.

I am extremely sorry that the Central Government have compelled us to convene a conferenee of this kind in a hurry because, of the creation of an impossible situation on

account of their policies relating to the Official Language. Those at the helm of affairs at the Centre, knowingly or unknowingly, have released forces which are sure to threaten the unity of the country. The Central Government's actions are taking a course which have jeopardised the stability of the country and created confusion in the minds of its citizens. This situation has been brought about by their unimaginative and unsympathetic actions. The truth of these observations will be borne out by what I have to say now.

## I. Policies Laking Uprightness.

1. The assurances given by the late distinguished leaders Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Sastri have been ignored and contrary policies have been pursued.

2. Hindi is being popularised and propagated through the back door wherever possible.

3. Even though it has been accepted that there are 15 official languages, there is anxiety to rule the country with one language.

4. In spite of the fact that taxes are collected from people talking 15 languages, large sums: are being spent for developing the stature and influence of one particular language.

5. At the same time, there is no desire to develop other languages in the same way as Hindi is being fostered.

6. There is also a deliberate attempt to make all other languages, except Hindi, useless for any purpose.

7. Simply because the Hindi-speaking population cannot learn English proficiently, they are keen to compel others well-versed in English to study reluctantly Hindi just because it is the mother tongue of those propagating this language.

## II. Inefficient Acts.

1 In the most surreptitious manner, attempts have been made to popularise Hindi through the National Cadet Corps, the All-India Radio and the Railways with persistence and obstinacy in spite of the opposition from non-Hindi speaking people.

2. In the name of developing Hindi, crores of rupees are being wasted annually.

3. The English language, which is known all over the world, is despised while the Hindi language, which is not known outside the borders of Hindi speaking area, is sought to be elevated to the status of an international language.

4. At a time when there are so many crucial questions demanding the immediate attention of the Central Government, undue solicitude for the cause of Hindi has served only to create needless confusion and discontent.

5. While no heed has been paid to the advice given by political leaders and intellectuals, the resolutions passed at various conferences or the representations made by delegations of non-speaking Hindi people, only the violent disturbances of the student population are ironically enough taken note of.

6. Even though out of the 19 States in the country, only 6 are Hindi speaking, it is fondly hoped that those in the remaining 13 States can be ruled by Hindi imperialism.

## III. Unimaginative Policies.

1. While declaring that English is a foreign language to Indians, it is sought to be driven home to the Southern people that Hindi is not a 'foreign' language and is indeed even their mother-tongue.

2. There is refusal to accept the practices adopted in Russia and Switzerland, whose population talk different languages and where multi-lingual practices exist.

3. Instead of attempting to evolve four or five official languages used by over 40 million in each case, an attempt is being made to impose one language spoken by only a small section of the population on the rest.

4. There is a deplorable attempt to translate the literature of other languages with glorious and rich traditions into Hindi which has no rich literary background.

5. Even though certain short vowels like 'e' (எ), 'o' (ஒ) are absent in Hindi and grammar has not been properly codified, the Devanagari script is trying to rule the roost.

6. In spite of the fact that leaders and thinkers have been advocating the use of the mother tongue and English in every State, it has been repeatedly stated that one language alone, Hindi, must be the link language for the whole country and one dreads to think of what will happen if it is declared that there must be one language only for the whole of Asia itself.

7. It is not realised that India consists of people with different religions and different languages and can be only a federal unit on the lines of the U. S. A. or the U.S.S.R.

## IV. Unsympathetic Actions.

1. The Hindi speaking population, while making their people learn only one language, is imposing on the other States the necessity to speak and learn two or three languages.

2. A language which is spoken by only 30 percent of the population has to be learnt by the remaining 70 percent of .the population much against their will.

3. Also, the non-Hindi speaking citizens are derated and become second-class citizens.

4. While it is claimed all the time that Indians have been freed from the bondage of the Britishers, the Hindi protagonists are making slaves of the non-Hindi-ites under them.

5. There is also the cruelty of jobs being available only to those learning Hindi and promotions being available only to those knowing this language.

6. Just as a leafy spice (Karuveppilai in Tamil) used for adding flavour to cooked food is thrown out after the job is over, the non-Hindi population, which participated in the country's freedom struggle and own its success along with others is being ignored and treated in the most callous manner. They are being prevented from participating in the fruits of independence.

All the above cited 26 cruel actions have greatly distressed us. These actions are capable of even distressing the fair-minded sections of the population in North India.

It is well-known that no country in the world has achieved national integration merely by the adoption of a single national language. In spite of there being a single national language, viz, Urudu, in the countries of Egypt, Jordan, Turkey and Pakistan, there exist political unrest and unstability in those countries. If the Chinese language has the power of unification, there cannot be two parallel Governments in China (Nationalist China and Koumingtong China). Though Hindi is spoken in the entire Northern portion of India, there prevails unrest and uneasiness. Therefore, it cannot be said that national integration can be brought by having a single national language.

Whatever may happen eventually, it has become imperative to find a solution to the burning issue of selecting an acceptable official language.

We, in Tamilnadu, have even sacrificed our mother tongue for the sake of the unity of India. If we had not been prepared for this sacrifice, we would have insisted that Tamil alone should be the official language of the country. It is needless to sav that this great

sacrifice is noble and selfless. However, those in North India are unmindful of the harm that will be caused to the unity of the country and are lacking the spirit of sacrifice and are even disregardful of the interests of the country just because they are obsessed with the idea that Hindi should be the sole official language. There would seem to be no recognition of the fact that persistence in this kind of thinking would lead to the dismemberment of the country.

I, therefore, earnestly and humbly suggest that this august conference should resolve unanimously to adopt only one resolution without any reservation. And that is, "Have we to choose Hindi or India". The 13 non-Hindi speaking areas should afford an opportunity to the six Hindi-speaking States to pronounce a verdict on this resolution. A time for arriving at the verdict should also be given. After this verdict, there should be a conference of the people of the non-Hindi speaking areas who, with single minded devotion, will take direct action.

Before I conclude my short speech, I once again take the opportunity to express my warmest and sincere thanks to those who have kindly condescended to attend and participate in this conference. I am confident that your presence here augurs well for the future.

## Mr. P. Kodanda Rao B. A., B. L.,

— Bangalore.

I confess that I feel flattered by the high honour conferred on me. At the same time, I feel subdued by its equally high responsibility. I apologise in advance for my inadequacies, and solicit your generous indulgence as I venture respectfully to submit my observations on the subject of the Conference.

In his most learned Inaugural Address, Mr. K. Subba Rao, ex-Chief Justice of India, has referred very comprehensively to the constitutional and legal aspects of the language problem in India. It is, therefore, not necessary for me to enter the same ground. I will, therefore, touch mostly on some other aspects.

While we have no clean slate to write on as we like, it is prudent and wise to keep in view the principles which command general acceptance and frame our practical recommendations to approximate to them as far as possible.

Language is a means for the communication of ideas. It is a *non-material culture element* like a religion, a science or any item of knowledge. It cannot be *owned* exclusively by

any individual, and is unlike *property*, which is a *material* cultural element and which can be owned exclusively by an individual. A teacher who shares his language and knowledge freely with his pupils will not equally freely share his salary also with them, because he does not suffer diminution of his language and knowledge by sharing, but will suffer diminution of his salary by sharing it. All languages, and all the knowledge they convey, are universal inheritances, and therefore, the possessive concept of "my" language and knowledge and "your" language and knowledge is not valid, for both I and you can acquire both the languages and knowledge.

Languages, and knowledge they convey, have no *political nationality*, even as they do not have a race, a religion, or a sex. If, for instance, English were British by political nationality, white by race, Christian by religion and male by sex, non-Britishers like Americans and Indians, non-whites like Indians and Negroes, non-Christians like Hindus and Muslims, and even British women would not be able to use it. But that is not so. The concept that English is "British" and Hindi and Tamil are "Indian" is therefore invalid. No language is either "foreign" or "Indian".

Language is not correlated with a nationality or a religion. All Hindus who have the

Hindu religion in common do not speak the same language. They speak different languages like Bengali, Tamil, etc., etc. Islam is the common religion of all Muslims in the world, from Morocco to Indonesia, but they do not speak the same language. Urdu is not the exclusive language of Muslims in India, for many non-Muslims speak it. The British and the Americans speak the same language – English – but they do not have the same political nationality.

Since a language or knowledge has no organic connection with any race, religion, sex and political nationality, the choice of language and knowledge must depend on their current *utility* for work and enjoyment to the persons concerned. However great their admiration for shakespeare, few Englishmen speak today the language which he himself used centuries ago. However great their admiration for Kalidasa, few Hindus speak the language which he used in his *Shakuntala*.

The nature and number of languages that one should learn depend largely on the range and variety of his communicational needs. The great majority of people in any part of the world are not likely to need more than their *mother-tongue*, as their communicational needs are limited. The fifty crores of Indians in India do not require a single common language

as a "link" language. Those, whose requirements transcend the boundaries of their mother-tongue, need more languages than their mother-tongue. Diplomats need several languages, as they are likely to be posted to different countries with different languages.

People whose mother-tongue is a well-developed language, like English, hardly need any other language, as most knowledge is available in it.

Language *per se* is not knowledge except to a few linguists. To most people it is the medium for knowledge, which they need for work and enjoyment. While a few gifted people may learn several languages if only as their hobby, most people prefer to have to learn the minimum number of languages and scripts for maximum use. *The best policy is: maximum knowledge through minimum number of languages and Scripts.*

Since a child starts speaking its mother-tongue even before it learns to read and write it at home or at school and normally uses it for most purposes, it is the best means of acquiring knowledge. If the mother-tongue is well-developed like, say, English, there is hardly any need for a second language. But if it be not well-developed, a well-developed second language is very useful for a wider range of needs.

## II

In view of the above considerations, what are the linguistic needs of India for current purposes, and how can they be met with maximum utility and minimum strain on mind and money?

During the last century and over, there has been a kind of horizontal bilingualism in India. Several mother-tongues have been the media of primary education and village administration, and one single language, English, was the medium of post-primary education and post-village administration, Provincial and Central. During the last few decades, and particularly after Indian Independence, some people have been advocating the replacement of English by Hindi at the Centre, and by "regional" language at all levels of education and administration in uni-lingual States to be created. But no linguistic state has become uni-lingual but has had several linguistic minorities, in addition to a single linguistic majority.

While it is admitted that no single majority language in any State in India is today able to replace English, the hope is cherished that, if it be made the medium at all levels of education and administration, it will soon be able to do so. But as English will not

stay put till the other languages catch up, the prospect of their catching up with English is receding like the horizon.

The people whose mother-tongue happens to be the language of the majority of a State have been forcing it by law as the official language of that State, due largely to their linguistic patriotism. But they callously ignore that people who speak the minority languages have also linguistic patriotism for their mother-tongues, and resent the imperialism of the mother-tongue of the majority.

If each linguistic state adopts its major language for all purposes, the administrative unity of India would be broken up, which few seem to contemplate with equanimity. Some people, who would preserve the unity, would continue English as the official language of the Government of India and as the medium of higher education in India until Hindi is developed enough to take over. But still others would get rid of English at once, if not sooner. The main reason for their antipathy to English is that, in their opinion, Hindi is an "Indian" language, and English a "foreign" language, *imposed* on India by the British Imperialists, like Lord Macaulay, and which Independent India should banish forthwith. As a matter of fact, it was Raja Rammohun Roy, the eminent Indian patriot and scholar,

who *invited* English before the arrival of Macaulay, with a view to the introduction of modern experimental Science in India which had made significant progress in England since Sir Francis Bacon invented the experimental method, and which would help India also.

"Foreign" and "Indian" denote political nationalities. If, as stated earlier, on language has a political nationality, no language, neither English nor Hindi, can be either "foreign" or "Indian". The only relevant question is their relative *utility for modern purposes.*

Granting, without admitting, that a language can be "foreign," is English "foreign"? The linguistic Census of India of 1951 classified languages and dialects current in India at the time under "Indian" and "non-Indian" and included among the "Indian" Sanskrit, which was the mother-tongue of just 555 Indian nationals. It included also over 50 dialects, each of which was the mother-tongue of just a *single Indian national*, though it did not say with whom that single Indian spoke in that dialect! It included English among the "non-Indian" languages, though it is the mother-tongue of some thousands of Indian nationals, including the Anglo-Indians who are hundred per cent Indian nationals and who are recognised as such in the Indian Constitution! To acknowledge Anglo-Indians as "Indian" natio-

nals and denigrate their mother-tongue as "foreign," is not only most illogical but also most insulting to the "Indian nationals" who happen to be either Anglo-Indians or other Indians.

In 1954 Mr. M. C. Chagla, then Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, in his famous judgment in *Bombay Education Society* vs. *The State of Bombay*, pronounced *inter alia* that English was an "Indian" language and the "more important 'Indian' langnage." The Bombay Government, in its appeal to the Supreme Court, did not challenge this particular verdict. In consequence, the highest judicial view of English is that it is an "Indian" language.

As Minister of Education in the Government of India in 1965, Mr. Chagla said that English was no longer the language of foreign rulers and that it was a badge of progress, and not humiliation, to Indians. On March 23, 1953, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, than whom there is no greater Indian patriot, said that English was one of the languages given to us by Goddess Saraswathi. In his speech at the Nagpur Rotary Club on August 17, 1961, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, now Minister for Home in the Government of India, said that English was not a "foreign," but a "national," language. Dr. K. M. Munshi said, in his *Note on Hindi*

of February 26, 1956, that English was an "Indian language by adoption." In his speech in Hyderabad on December 8, 1955, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, then Prime Minister of India, said that English should have been included among the Indian languages listed in Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. In response to Mr. Frank Antony's plea in Parliament on August 7, 1959, to include English in the Schedule to "remove the taint of foreignness," Mr. Nehru said that non-inclusion in the Schedule did not mean that English was not an Indian language, and pointed out that it was recognised by the Sahitya Academy, along with several other "Indian" languages.

In so far as English is said to be "foreign" inasmuch as it did not *originate within* the four corners of India, most of what is being taught in our education system, like the Physical Sciences and the Social Sciences, Medicine and Engineering, etc., is also of "foreign" origin, but there is no "patriotic" demand to eschew them and replace them by *Puranas* and *Itihasas*. Scores of Indians are being sent to "foreign" countries like Britain and America, to learn, not Hindu *Puranas*, but "foreign" Sciences and Technology. Even most of the administrative systems in India today are of "foreign" origin. But there is no "patriotic" demand to boycott them, because of their *usefulness* to us in modernising our life.

The more we have of them, as well as English, the better for us.

There is a large body of opinion in India today that English was necessary as the medium of higher education in India to facilitate the acquisition of modern up-to-date knowledge. I venture to submit that English is useful for much else. According to UNESCO, more than 1,500 vocations were practised in the world. A good many of them obtain in India also, and offer the means of livelihood for millions of people who do not aspire to go to the University. In most of the vocations improvements are constantly being made and find ready publication in English periodicals, pamphlets and books. Because they are published in English with international circulation, they lend themselves to be printed in thousands of copies and at a low price per copy. Most of the Indian craftsmen are still at the level of skill which their forefathers had attained centuries ago. It is most unwise and uneconomical to deny them modern knowledge in their skills. Either it should be provided to them in their mother-tongues and at prices they can pay, which is almost impossible, or they should be taught English. *English has a unique universality of utility.* In so far as English is advocated as a compulsory language even from the Primary level of education, if only as part of the Three-Language Formula,

it is welcome. Since Hindi has not the same usefulness, it is an unnecessary infliction to make it also to be compulsory.

The late Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, as Home Minister in the Government of India, said that Hindi would be made the sole official language of the Government of India when a sufficient number of non-Hindi people had acquired sufficient knowledge of Hindi. He did not reveal how the sufficiency would be tested and by whom. If Hindi be made compulsory on students under the Three-Language Formula, and even on officials under official pressure, the next Census will list the great majority of non-Hindi people as "knowing" Hindi, and offer the excuse for making it the sole official language of India. But the Census, which can measure only the *number* of non-Hindi people who have to say that they had learnt Hindi, will not however measure their *efficiency* in Hindi. By and large, most non-Hindi people will have acquired only a smattering of Hindi and not the same efficiency in it as the Hindi people and are bound to suffer a permanent handicap. Non-Hindi people should, therefore, reject Hindi in any form, other than as a voluntary hobby, like any other language, say, Bengali or French.

While everybody should be free to learn any number of languages and scripts volunta-

rily and at his own expense, the State should promote at tax-payers' expense only the mother-tongues, and also English since most mother-tongues are ill-equipped for modern, particularly useful, knowledge, but it should not promote *Hindustani* "*lingua franca*" for the fifty crores of Indians at public expense. Hindustani has no script of its own. Mahatma Gandhi suggested that it should be written in both Devanagari and Arabic scripts. The Roman script is being used in the Defence Forces. According to Dr. K. M. Munshi, Hindustani is a language only at the bazaar level, but at any other level it resolves itself into Sanskritised Hindi in Devanagari script, or Persianised Urdu in Arabic script. Both the two languages and their scripts have become associated with two religions, Hindu and Muslim in popular mind, and are potential of communal conflict.

In so far as the Constitution ordains compulsory education of children till their age of fourteen, and English is proposed to be made compulsory, if only as part of the Three-Language Formula, the whole of the Indian population will in the next decade or so have acquired a working knowledge of English, at least enough to enable them to *read* it for their vocational knowledge, though not to speak and write fluently enough to attempt literature in it. English, thus acquired, will, if necessary,

constitute the "link" language to those who need it. It is more useful to concentrate our limited resources on two languages, Mother-tongue and English, than burden the people, particularly children, with a third, Hindustani, which most of them will not need at any time.

The adoption of Hindi as the official language of India gives an unearned advantage to the Indians in a part of India who have it as their *mother-tongue*, who speak it even before they learn to read and write it and who use it for most of their linguistic needs, over other Indians who have to learn it much later in life in school, and have hardly any occasion to use it. *There cannot be equality of facility in the use of Hindi between those who have it as their mother-tongue and those who do not*, except in very rare cases. Even as, by and large, Germans cannot compete with Englishmen in the English language, even as Englishmen cannot compete with Germans in the German language, so also non-Hindi-speaking Indians cannot compete on equal terms with Hindi-speaking Indians. It is a fact admitted even by the Hindi protagonists. It is a permanent and unfair preference for one mother-tongue, Hindi, as against several other mother-tongues, to which the latter cannot at any time and for any reason submit willingly. A few exceptions apart, while the Hindi people are defending Hindi because it is their *mother-tongue*, the non-

Hindi people have not been equally selfish in that they did not demand that any of their mother-tongues should be the official language of India. *The conflict is between Hindi selfishness and non-Hindi unselfishness.* In supporting English, the non-Hindi people are not standing for unearned advantage for their mother-tongue, since it is not their mother-tongue, but because it equalises the linguistic load on *all Indians.* Further, it is more useful than any other language current in India for the easy flow into India of modern knowledge which everybody needs.

Some friends have advocated that Hindi and English should both be adopted as the official languages of the Government of India. They are not always clear if every official document should be in both the languages, or if one language should be used for some purposes, and the other for other purposes, and which. It will be a great help if they will work out the proposal in detail to make sure that it will not lead to conflicts between the two versions, and which should be the authoritative one in case of conflict of meaning if only because of the different idioms in the two languages. They should also publish their estimates of the cost of such bilingualism, and if there is justification to incur it when there is not enough money to liquidate the colossal illiteracy in India, which is sometimes esti-

mated at about eighty per cent! I cannot believe that such bilingualism is not a manoeuvre to taper of English and leave Hindi as the sole official language of India and as soon as possible.

Policies of the several Provincial Governments impinge on one another and on the Government of India, and sometimes on the Governments of other countries as well, and must therefore be in the same single language. English is best fitted for that role.

*I am, therefore, of the firm opinion that English shsuld continue as the sole official language of the Government of India and the medium of higher edugation and administration all over India, and the optional medium in the lower levels of administration and education on a permanent basis, if only to avoid another partition of India.*

May I quote the opinion of Sir C. V. Raman, eminent patriot and scientist?

> "I am firmly of the opinion that the replacement of English by Hindi in higher administration and education, particularly Science, would be a great disservice to India. I am, therefore, opposed to the change."

I am not unaware of the difficulty facing this recommendation. But we should not be deterred by it. The Members of Parliament from the non-Hindi areas as well as some unselfish members from the Hindi areas should be pursuaded to support it by making it one of the main, if not the only, issue in elections to Universities, State and Central Legislature. And we must from now on prepare the climate for it by continuous agitation.

**Mr. G. V. Krishnaswamy,**

M. A. (Econ) M. A. (Pol) M. A. (Hist) B. L. – Coimbatore.

*Mr. Chairman, Respected elders, and Friends,*

India is a vast land inhabited by 400 million people speaking several languages and professing different faiths. It is materially backward and economically uuder-developed. We have a long way to promote social justice and economic prosperity. Prosperity implies progress and progress is impossible where peace does not prevail. *Prevalence* of peace in the country necessitates mutual trust and understanding between different sections of the people. So, those who endeavour to promote the welfare of the people should strive, in the first instance, to stabilise the governmental and administrative machinery in our country. Stability and co-operative effort depend upon goodwill and understanding between the people. A political and economic order based on justice is the only way to create goodwill and understanding. Unearned previlege to one section and undue disadvantage to the other sections of the citizens would militate against doing justice. So, granting equality of status to all is the SINE QUA NON for the establishment of justice. The above argument is not a mere logic, but a lesson that we have to learn from history. The study of history conclusively proves that a country's stability and strength,

peace and prosperity ultimately revolves on justice based on equality of opportunity.

It is in this background that I propose to approach our language issue. It is an undeniable fact that the problem of union official language looms large over the political horizon of India. It is vain and idle to put off the issue saying that it is a petty one when compared to the defence and economic problems of our land. I need not drive home the fact that a country's defence is correlated to its economic strength which again is a function of progress. As we have already seen progress is unattainable without collective effort. And how is it possible to urge people to indulge in co-operative endeavour while they are divided on language issue ?

Now, why should this language issue give rise to unrest and animosity ? It is because justice is not done to the Non-Hindi speaking people of India. Until a proper solution is found for this vexed but vital problem, unity of India is in jeopardy.

Part XVII of the Constitution of India and the relevant clauses dealing with the union official language discriminate against the Non-Hindi speaking people and give undue advantage to the Hindi speaking people. Will it not be proper to call these discriminatory sections of our Constitution as undemocratic

on the ground that they deny equality of status to the people speaking different languages? The very basis of our polity, namely the constitution of India, is wrongly conceived with regard to this issue.

The proposition that a country should have only one national language to promote unity is erronious. If we have a peep into the affairs of countries like Belgium, Canada and Switzerland, we will be easily convinced that they have voluntarily and wisely adopted more than one official language to achieve permanent peace and real unity. I would advocate the same policy of adopting more than one language as the official or link language of India had there been only a few languages spoken in India. But there are nearly 14 major languages in our country. It is a practical impossibility to adopt all these languages as the official languages of our union. So we have to choose one language for that purpose.

Why should we not retain English as that one language that could serve as the official language of the union as well as the link language? It is pointed out that English is an alien language and we have to choose Hindi as it is our 'national' language. Again the preferential treatment is sought to be given to Hindi amidst other languages of India on the alleged ground that is the language spoken by the majority of the people. A little reflection

on our part will reveal that both these arguments based on the national sentiment and the democratic practice of following majority principle are fallacious and misleading.

First, the consideration of national honour. In this context I want to stress the point that India is not a nation-state like France and Italy, but a multi-national state like the U. S. S. R. and Canada. India is a union of different and distinctive nationalities who are called Keralites, Tamils, Kannadigas, Andhras, Maharashtrians etc. They have their own tradition and history, customs and habits, culture and language. They take pride, and rightly too, in the greatness of their respective cultures. Everyone is zealous to guard the originality of his own culture based upon his own linguistic and historical background. It is vain and futile to try to safeguard the unity of India by ignoring its diversity. As it was written editorially in "The Indian Express" on 30-1-1968, " the union cannot be maintained for long by mouthing platitudes about unity in diversity. If the diversity of India is a fact, the demands of that diversity will have to be met ungrudgingly and in a deliberate way to the extent possible ". Those who stress on one language and one religion to promote national solidarity, think in terms of uniformity and not unity. Such people actually sow the seeds of disintegration. They do not realise the fact that promotion of Hindi to the status of the

sole national language of India will only satisfy the sentiments of Hindi speaking people. To the non-Hindi people Hindi is as alien as English is not more. Hindi is not the national languages. Its elevation to the status of the sole official language will not satisfy the national sentiments of non-Hindi speaking people. On the other hand, it will leave them dissatisfied and disgruntled as equality of status is denied to them. So assigning a special and previleged status to Hindi on the ground that it will satisfy the national sentiments of all the nationalities of India is harmful and unreal, irresponsible and irrational.

Now, let us consider the other argument based on the practice of following the majority principle. It has been proved by statistics that Hindi is the language of only 42% of the people of India, and so it is only a minority language. Even if we assume for the sake of argument that it is a majority language it is still unfair and undemocratic to ask others to accept it as the official language or national language. It is true that, in practice, the minority accepts the rule of the majority. But such an acceptance is not a permanent one. The minority allows itself to be ruled by the majority, for a specified term, in the hope that it can become the majority in the next general elections. For example, at present the non-congress men submit to the rule of the congress party in the centre in the hope that they can

become the majority ruling party in course of time. Thus the rationale of adopting the majority principle in democratic practice consists in the possibility of the minority becoming the majority, and the majority being reduced to the status of minority. Now, where is the justification to apply the above principle to solve our language problem? Is there any possibility of the Hindi speaking people being reduced to the minority status, and the non-Hindi speaking people becoming a majority people? Such a prospect is never possible at any time. Under these circumsiances, the Hindi speaking people will enjoy permanent advantage and the others will suffer from permanent disadvantage. Equality of opportunity will be for ever denied to the non-Hindi speaking people. And where there is no equality of opportunity there shall be no real democracy. So it is silly and childish nonsense to ask others to accept Hindi as the union official language on the plea that it is a majority language.

We have seen that the arguments of safeguarding our national honour, and following democratic practice do not stand the text of reason and dispassionate consideration.

English occupies a unique place in our country. It is not the mother tongue of any of the major nationalities of India. It is a precious possession of all the people of India.

As English is the neutral language, its adoption as the link language neither gives any previlege to, nor places any burden on, one section of citizens to the exclusion of the others. It has united India and it will ever serve the same purpose. The study of English is a necessary burden, that should be equally shouldered by all the nationalities of India, to preserve its unity. This burden will prove to be very light if we take into account some other benefits arising out of our knowledge of English. Being an world language, it will facilitate our international intercourse and serve as a window on the world. As it is a developed and precise language, it will improve our administrative efficiency. English is a rich modern language and it will help us to increase our knowledge. English will assist the growth and enrichment of our developing national languages. Till recently English itself depended upon the assistance of Latin and Greek for its enrichment. English would serve the same purpose to our languages as Latin and Greek did to English.

It may be argued that English is not the language of the masses in India. But same is the case with regard to Hindi if we take into account the masses of Non-Hindi speaking people. The only way to reduce the cleavage between the masses and the educated people is to give equal opportunity to all to acquire some basic knowledge of English.

Thus from whatever angle we view the problem, English is better suited to serve as the link language than any other language of India.

The real struggle is not between English and Hindi. It is between Hindi and other national languages of India. We urge for the adoption of English as the link language not because we have any special attachment towards it, but because it place all the people on equal footing.

Non-Hindi speaking people neither hate Hindi nor entertain any jealousy towards their Hindi-brothern. They oppose Hindi on the conviction that the elevation of anyone Indian language to a special status in the political and administrative spheres will create discord and disruption, confusion and chaos instead of promoting concord and harmony.

Language is an emotional and explosive issue. It should be viewed soberly and considered dispassionately. We should not allow ourselves to be influenced by preferences and prejudices in setling this serious problem. It is not a problem to be solved by those swayed away by sentiments and irrational passions. I hope that the responsible and farsighted statesmen of our country will find out a just solution to this paramount but ticklish problem on a rational basis.

**Mr. S. Doraiswamy,** B. A., B. L.

— Madras.

Today is 26th of January. I wish to recall the same day as it was four years earlier – January 26th of 1965, the day on which thousands of men, women and children boldly took up the cause of opposing Hindi imperialism, the day on which hundreds of men gave up their lives shouting Anti-Hindi slogans at the gun point. Reminding myself of that historical day, taking a solemn oath that I would be prepared to add up my name to the panel of those numerous martyrs, for the cause of protecting our culture and language. It is a question of life and death for all the people of Non-Hindi States, with due respect plead with politicians belonging to all parties not deal with the language problem.

This language problem is not simple as many imagine. Language is a basic thing. Any person who knows the history of mankind, would recognize this as a matter of struggle for existance. The idea of India being a unitary structure is an utopian idea. Never in the pages of history, India was a single state before 1960. Even after 1950, Indian constitution defines it only as "Union of States". Therefore our own constitution

affirms the age-long truth that India was never a single unit. Even during the days of Aurangazeb and Akbar, the southern part of the Sub-continent was not under their empire. It was only after the advent of the western rulers, these various states were solidified into one unit. If we are to assume that India is a "Country" why not we say that Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon are also part of the so-called Country, and see how these country men react. Therefore, this India, the Union of states is rather an artificial creation of the British Rulers, brought into existence, for easy administrative purposes.

Once it was - British India, including Pakistan and other 563 small states. After the British, Pakistan separated and there was no more an India. Later the Indian States were united by force, and named as Indian Union that is Bharat, I do not know, whether it is India or Bharat. Even the constitution makers were not quite sure about the so called united India. So before 1950 this so-called India was ruled by different rulers of different races, different religion, different languages at different places. So it is meaningless to say India is a nation.

But even to-day, our present day rulers do not seem to have drawn a lesson from the past. They simply want to harp on the old

tune of "Nationalism". But, we have found out clearly, that this "Nationalism" is only a red-herring, intended to lead us into ultimate destruction. Nationalism, National language, National religion, National dress etc; is either a janatic's creation or a fool's paradise so far as our country is concerned for the aforesaid reasons. I like to ask those who cry for a national language, let us first define the word nation. It is defined as a people or race distinguished by commnnity or descent, language, history etc. So there is Kanada nation with its race and language, there is Malayala nation within a race and language and there is Tamil nation with its race and language. Hence India is a Union of nations. So when India is not a nation at all, there is no justification for the cry of national language for India. So it is unreasonable to ask for a national language to allow one language to enjoy the status of the sole official language.

"*Language*" however is a fundamental element in any society and many or most great nations in history have found it their principal element of Union. It is for more vital than race, ancestry or religion. France is a Country inhabited by Frenchmen who are French mainly because French is their mother tongue. They may be of different origins with different anthropological back grounds and of different religions. But the language makes them French.

Therefore it should be noted, since India cannot be said to be a nation, in the strictest sense of the word, there cannot be a national language again drawing lesson from history, sacrificing one's religion, language or racial identities is the earliest method of becoming slaves. That is the distinguished point between the rulers and the ruled.

"*Freedom*" must by any definition imply the use of One's own language in Public life.

We must always realise that we are born to rule, nor to be ruled. Therefore an attempt to make us the ruled, reduce ourselves into the status of second rate citizens, is made in a diplomatic way, in quicker steps. Now Hindi is sought be imflitrated in every sphere of day to-day affairs, cultural spheres, etc. Hindi in family planning advertisement, Hindi in Train, Tickets, Hindi in Sign Boards, Hindi through cinema, Hindi through Prachar-Sabha, Hindi in Schools and education, Hindi in N. C. C. and Defence forces, Hindi in Parliament, Hindi in Constitution, Hindi in Public Offices, Hindi, Hindi, Hindi everywhere and everywhere. This is the first phase of our destruction namely replacing English in every sphere, which would place Hindi above all other languages and the second phase, of enslaving us, becomes an automatic and investable consequence - the ultimate extinction of our

language culture, way of life, liberties and everything. We have all beeome the second rate citizens to the Hindi Imperialists, we are all ruled by Hindi imperialists. We are all slaves of the Hindi imperialists. Is it not better to die than to be a slave? It is the time to think and we should make an end to the imperialistic Hindi.

Therefore in the name of national solidarity we call upon the centre to repeal the entire part 17 of the constitution. To strike the balance equal, make either English the sole official language, or make all the 14 languages as Official languages.

We are therefore determined to meet all the consequences. We sould not live as the slaves to the Hindi imperialists after sacrificing thousands of our men for this cause. I want to recall a remark made my Prof, what is the constitution, it is a prostitution. If I were the leader of the D. M. K party I would have burnt the whole constitution. So I don't know why they hesitate to amend the constitution. Lastly I like to ask the Centre "Do you want Hindi or India" If you want India give up Hindi. If you want Hindi, we do not mind the nation going to pieces. Then, our agitation would not be an anti-Hindi agitation. but it would really be Anti-India Agitation. We would ultimately declare it as a freedom

struggle. Once we fought against the British imperialism. Now we have to fight against the Hindi imperialism. Since 1957 we have held. thousands of Anti-Hindi conferences and passed Lakhs of resolutions. So there is no use of resolutions, so we should take direct action against the Centre. In conclusion if the Centre does not amend the constitution within six months, we will be forced to change our slogan from Down with Hindi into one of Down with India.

**Thiru G. D. Naidu,** Coimbatore.

Respected Chairman, Vice-Chairman, members, Elders and delegates of the Anti-Hindi Agitation Conference, I respectfully submit the following for your kind consideration.

Though the Government is trying to impose Hindi on all citizens of India for the last thirty years, the non-Hindi speaking States were simply eye observers, and I am glad that atleast now they feel and realise, and have come forward as a united front to oppose the introduction of Hindi in non-Hindi speaking States. Such impulse is quite welcome, "Better late than never". I submit, that only if we unite and agitate, we can prevent and save ourselves from the clutches of Hindi fanatics and Hindi language, safeguarding our mother-tongue. If we delay in our objective, we will become slaves, and our country will be in the verge of being a slave to other countries and a source of mockery. At present India is being ruled by Hindi fanatics. In so-called India Delhi is nothing but a farce giving room for unnecessary fighting within ourselves.

Article 17 is specially, purposely drafted and is more favourable and encouraging Hindi, doing greet injustice and detrimental to other

languages of India. With the above rule, the Government has come forward with an iron hand that Hindi alone should be the national and ruling language and other languages are only subsidiary. This contention is very absurd and cannot be tolerated by any citizen who feels a sense of duty for his country. Our country, India is a vast one in area, gifted with citizens of all talents, virtues, language and social custom, 55 crores in number.

Hindi language is not popular and is still in infant stage, cannot be imposed as a national language. Every citizen of India has the right of freedom of thought, freedom of speech in his own mother-tongue and freedom of action against any law or rule made to oppress. To learn these languages it is left to their free will and pleasure, and no Government or fanatics of the ruling party should compel that every body should study only Hindi. If such compulsion or imposition is made, we automatically lose our right and say in any matter.

For the convenience of Inter-State correspondences, and our dealings with other countries of the world, English should be the link language. If the Government is unable to agree, there is no other alternative except that non-Hindi speaking States will have to separate themselves from the Centre for safeguarding their interests and mother-tongue. Imposing

Hindi as common language in all areas will create disunion and aversion to the Centre. The rapid way in which Hindi is being pushed through by Hindi fanatics of the North is raising the anger of all citizens of non-Hindi speaking areas. But directly and indirectly in which Central government is trying their level best to impose Hindi from bottom to top in all walks of life on all subjects. For example the tillers of the soil are called "Kisan" in Hindi and village uplift worker, as "Grama Sevak" and Janathipathi as "Rashtrapathi" and Parliament as "Lok-sabha." With the sole object of making Hindi as the national language, the editors and publishers of news papers are also using the above languages.

Even a lay-man of a village is now automatically says that he had gone to see the Grama Sevak in Hindi without understanding its meaning. In coins and currency notes only Hindi is printed along with wheat produce. In post cards, covers and money orders only Hindi is printed. In all railway stations, post offices and air-port, the name in Hindi is only exhibited. Any thing that is seen is being written only in Hindi which is not understood by majority of the public. For encouraging and imposing Hindi, the central Government is wasting more than 20 crores of Rupees every year, by organising Hindi Prachara Sabha in all places and teaching Hindi. Besides

certain amount of allowance, and increase in pay is also sanctioned to such persons who are learning Mandhi – (Hindi).

The amount wasted for promoting only one language "Mandhi" is from the taxes paid by people of non-Hindi speaking States, and such action cannot be tolerated by any sensible responsible citizen. We are astouned that we have neither sympathy nor interest, in our own mother-tongue as Hindi people are advocating for the uplift of their language Mandhi. This gives me more than anything else. We should think how the Northerners have become so bold as to impose Hindi on all of us, because we convene meetings, and send resolutions expressing our oppositions. But we fail in not pursuing in determination and resolutions to the last. This weakness of ours is being taken advantage off by the Northerners and they are handling things earnestly and speedily by imposing on us. If we oppose at each and every stage in all lines where-ever they impose Hindi, they will automatically put an end to their malpractices, giving us due respect.

Atleast from now, we should take necessary steps to put an end to the above. Our resolutions giving six months notice is too long, and only 3 months notice is sufficient, without prejudice to our interest in taking direct action.

The customs, pride, might of every one is strongly based upon his mother-tongue. If one is doing injustice to his mother-tongue by discarding it, he becomes a fanatic and slave to another language. This we have seen in History, how one nation is becoming a slave to another nation by removing their own language and imposing the language of the usurpers. Having read and seen all such things it is surprising that we are sleeping, and have no sentiment, and love for our own language. This shows that we are neither slack nor such impulse has not taken route in us. The so-called followers of Ghandiji have accepted that our leaders have no faith or interest in our own customs in the matter of dealings with the Government. Ghandiji's principle is that India should obtain Independence and all problems to be tackled in a broad view, which is rightly duly accepted by the so-called deciples of Ghandhiji. But Ghandhiji's main aim was to free India from the clutches of foreign rule. But the difference between Hindu - Muslim stood as an obstacle. Therefore he was seriously thinking of a solution to create harmony between Hindus and Muslims. The majority of Muslims are talking Urdu which formed part and parcel of Persian and Arabian language. But Hindi language is an adulteration of Urdu and Hindustani. If Hindi is made the common language of India, he thought that there will be harmony between Hindus and

Muslims which is a great blunder. But he failed in his objective for co-operation between Hindus and Muslims through Hindi language. This is self explanatory for the formation of a separate State as Pakistan and the Muslims emigrated from India. Though Ghandhiji had failed long ago in language issue, the present Government, Ghandhiji's followers, think that they are following the principles of Mahatmaji by the compulsory introduction of Hindi as common language on all citizens of India. This is nothing but foolishness and vanity. These people can hardly think the people who are fools, and whose culture is undevelopcd and who have not got the masculine vigour in the name of Ghandhiji. At present people are sufficiently educated and have full power of thinking and deciding things which are good to them. Hence they are fishing into old records and understand what had happened knowingly or unknowingly. Hence it is impossible to blackmail the public in the name of Mahatmaji. Even if the hypocrite deciples of Ghandlji forces those things on non-Hindi speaking subjects it will not be tolerated and cannot be accepted and we will boldly say that they have erred and we cannot be a party to any of their proceedings.

At present we are slaves to the Northerners and the so-called Hindi which is a manthi which is haunting on us to our own doings. For we have no union amongst ourselves, and

have no affection for our mother-tongue. This is being taken advantage of and the Northerners are compelling us to learn Hindi imposing it as a common language, making use of our own men as tools. For example in 1938, the then Chief Minister of Madras, Rajaji, introduced Hindi in schools as a compulsory subject. But the learned elders, like Sri E. V. R. Thiru V. Kalyanasundaram, Thiru Somasundara Bharathiar, Thiru K. A. P. Viswanatham strongly protested, knowing fully well, the evil effects, if Hindi is introduced as a common language. They fought for it. This had the real effect, and the question of introducing Hindi as a common language was abandoned. For the last thirty years the Hindi fanatics of the North are slowly introducing Hindi on us in all walks of life earnestly and even Rajaji after realisation is strongly opposing it. Persons whose mother-tongue and languages are not Hindi, are falling victims to the Hindi-language and to the Northerners, which is a sad state of affairs. Our vain attempts to dissuade our people from time to time, proved futile as they simply say that they will consider. With such political leaders and their ignorent public, we wonder how we can fight against Hindi imperialism. In a country like ours, it is not necessary and binding that only one language should be the common link language. If we study History, there are countries which have more than one language as a common link

language. For example M a l a y a, Ceylon Belgium etc., where there are two common languages. In Switzerland, Germany, France, three languages are common languages. These facts are well known to Hindi fanatics. But they are thinking that if Hindi is imposed as common language, they can command those people who are speaking other languages, and whose mother-tongue is other than 'Hindi" or the so-called Manthi and they are doing it, and we are seeing that we are slaves to Northerners.

The Hindi fanatics and the ruling party in the Centre, think that only one language should be the common language in India and that it should be only Hindi as repeatedly being preached by the political leaders. Every-body is aware that India has no self respect, because it is begging for food, loan and other things in countries Belgium, Japan, Malaya, Italy, Finland which are smaller in area, less fertile, and less populated. When matters are such how India can boast of self respect in the eyes of other countries. If our politicians at the Centre had realised, they would have taken pains to see that our country itself is made self sufficient, in Agriculture, Industry etc , with our men and available resources without paying any attention, they are indulging in begging and borrowing from other countries, sacrificing the prestige of our mother India, and yet saying that our country is respected, one is far from basic truth.

If we happen to travel in other countries, and speak in English, the Congress politicians are propagating the false rumour that other countries are enquiring and talking all of us that we have no common language. It is nothing but a false. Even I have travelled to other countries many times, and they are pleased and appreciated that we are talking in a language which is understood by them. None of them asked me to talk either in my mother-tongue or in Hindi. To the politicians, perhaps they might have asked them to talk in Hindi and would have laughed at their face. To have dealings with other countries and Inter-State communications, English language is more than sufficient

Instead of wasting time and energy, it is sufficient, if one devotes and learns his mother-tongue along with English. This is quite sufficient to come forward in Industry, Agri-culture and other walks of life. By so doing, our country can be saved, our differences of opinion settled peacefully and there will be harmony and co-operation.

There is no rule or law in the Constitution of India which clearly specifies that only Hindi speaking people should rule the country and others are to follow them In reality the Hindi fanatics are ruling the Nation, and are over-riding the non-Hindi speaking people

either cleverly or indirectly in cunny ways. As these things are happening behind the curtains, the non-Hindi speaking people are simply sleeping.

By introducing Hindi compulsorily from bottom to top, in all departments, the Hindi fanatics are indulging and ruling the non Hindi speaking people treating them even worse than slaves. Having realised that Grama Ooliar is called "Grama Sevak", and the tiller of the soil is "Kisans", it is but shame, that we have not opened our eyes and fought for our rights in safeguarding ourselves and our mother-tongue.

It is easy for the Northerners to learn English along with their mother-tongue Hindi. But for the others, they have to learn three languages viz. Mother-tongue, English and Hindi, the so-called National Common Link Language. It is just like a person carrying two bags and another person to carry 3 bags which is more weighty trodding over all obstacles is only a torture and nothing else. This is one of the tactics of the Hindi fanatics. They are experts, and they have introduced Hindi either as a compulsory subject or an optional subject in all schools in the South. But in no school in the North, no language of the South is either introduced or taught. This is a mystery.

What-ever may be your intelligenee or efforts or talents it is not possible to compete with the Northerners whose mother-tongue is Hindi in which they are well-versed from their birth. This fact is known to everybody and automatically we lose our position, in Government, politics, finance and other departments and the quarters of poverty between the North and South is lost. Some unscrupulous politicians of the South are saying that let Hindi be the ruling language to a certain extent, giving certain concessions to these Non-Hindi speaking people. This is nothing but encouraging Hindi and automatically only the injustice can be expected. This will weaken our position in the eyes of the public, and such a little concession will make us slaves and subordinates to Northerners, losing our sense of duty in fighting and maintaining our rights. Ignoring our mother-tongue and dancing according to the wishes of the Northerners in accepting Hindi as Common National Languge is silly. Language problem is not the asset of a single individual, and it is the asset of whole nation. The customs and usage cannot be deprived off from any man by the so-called political leader who is selfish and has no self respect. If by foolishness or, by pressure, the leaders bow down to the Northerners by discording their mother-tongue, the future of the country will have a gloomy picture and such tactics will be a mockery in the future.

To fight on language issue is not madness. The fanaticism is nothing but short sighted policy. It is for exercising this control over others claiming a superiority complex. Therefore the Hindi speaking people of the North are the fanatics. They have ignored and paid a deaf ear to the assurance of Sri Nehruji that English will continue to be the associate language of all persons who do not desire to learn Hindi or who oppose introduction of Hindi. Even this cannot be accepted as we want only English as the language of the government department, for the purpose of routine and normal working system. If we agree to the theory of having Hindi and English in the government, it gives room for differences as some will try to enhance their reputation and uplift through Hindi and some through English. Justice is at stake and gulf between them will become wider and wider giving room for unnecessary worries.

It is emphatically obvious that Hindi should be eliminated and English is retained as the Common National Language for the efficient administration of the government in the Centre as well as in States and we have to fight for that right to the last.

In the pretex of State Unity, the Central Government is introducing Hindi in all walks of life directly and indirectly. This, they are

doing under article 17 of the constitution. The Central Government is still slack in deciding many important factors which are more essential and which are defended and pending for a long time without any decision and carrying out any action for the uplift of the State and Nation. But the Central Government is mad and in a hurry, for introduction of Hindi, compulsorily in government and other departments in the whole of Indian Union. Further the government is exporting Indian raw materials, Butter at a very low rate and importing ghee at high cost and are indulging starting Industries in partnership with foreign countries, degrading ourselves and prestige of the country by getting gifts, through begging and borrowing loans with or without interest.

The Central Government Ministers are often visiting other countries in the plea of Education, Industry and Agriculture just like a new Bridegroom raiding his father-in-law's house and by posting Ambassadors in each country at a high cost. For such wastage, the Central Government is hunting after foreign exchange; and also exporting the raw materials. Thus India has become a debtor to all nations with the result that the nation is starving (one example is that production of sugar in our country is surplus, the nation is suffering for their wants, as major portion is exported out of India at low price). The so

called 5 years plans are nothing but a waste. As the plans they have planned are useless they do not serve any purpose. For carrying out those plans, loans obtained from other countries, sacrificing the prestige of India. Even for small matters, the Government is appointing a committee at high cost for taking decisions, thus wasting the money collected as taxes from the public. The poverty and lapses of Central Government are numerous and I have fully listed them. If I have to explain each and every thing in which the Central Government have muddled and spoiled, the youngsters' blood will boil and they will be driven to the painful necessity of doing any thing. Hence I have refrained from explaining each and every instance.

Some years back, I was a supporter of Hindi. I asked 10 students at my expenses to study Hindi in Mambalam, Madras. I requested the State Government to start a Hindi school at Mambalam, which will fecilitate and help the Southerners to go and work in the North if they so desire and to the business people to have dealings in trade with the Northerners. So they can have some knowledge of Hindi to carry on smoothly in the North. If the government had taken pains to carry out my suggestions, and the public to learn Hindi according to their desire, by this time many would have

learned Hindi, and would have passed successfully.

Instead of allowing things to take the normal course, the Central Government had taken law into their own hands by compelling non-Hindi speaking people to learn Hindi and have introduced Hindi in all correspondences between the Centre and States. The Central Government have ventured and introduced Hindi in all sections, through their majority in the Parliament and if there is any opposition or agitation to curb down with the help of military and Police which are at their disposal.

The rapid speed with which the same is introduced is itself an obstacle, creating in the minds of non-Hindi speaking people an avesion. So I oppose Hindi and if any body happens to talk in Hindi, I am trying my endeavour to dissuade him and to speak in his national language. The Hindi fanatics will have to realise that this is the first stepping stone for their down fall.

The Extremist Hindi Fanatic Sri Seth Govindoss had gone to such an extent, that non-Hindi speaking people should not be entertained in Government service, in the beginning and is trying to wipe to the non-Hindi speaking subjects. This action of his has created new spirit in the hearts of non-Hindi speaking people. In the Central Govern-

ment is encouraging the above spirit, it implies that non-Hindi speaking States will have to sever their connection with the Centre in the near future.

I am interested more in industry other than in politics. But I could not bear the attrocities of the Central Government, by planning useless plans and wasting the resources of the country, export policy, heavy taxation and compulsory introduction of Hindi in all States. So I have to change my policy by switching over to politics gradually. The Central Government has many vast powers and are coming down the opposition with a majority who are Congress and Hindi fanatics.

What-ever act is done by the Central Government, we will have to defend ourselves, our national language, culture, Right etc. by fighting to the last. Hence I am placing the following resolution for your consideration and necessary action. These resolutions should be sent to Government and if they are in a position to change their policy within 91 days, we all will be grateful to them. But if they persist and do things, we have to fix a date for waging war against the Northerners. We have no other alterative and I request the committee of action to do the needful. If the central government accepts our views without any modification, amendment or alteration within six months, no direct action will be taken.

**திரு. சின்னராமசாமி,** (காசமடை)

தலைவர் அவர்களே! பெரியோர்களே! தாய்மார் களே! வணக்கம்.

இந்தி எதிர்ப்பு உணர்ச்சி 1938 முதல் புகைய ஆரம்பித்தது; 1965-ல் குமுறியது; இனியும் நடுவன் அரசு இந்தியைத் திணிப்பதிலிருந்து பின் வாங்காவிட்டால், எரிமலை வெடித்துச் சிதறும் நிலை ஏற்பட்டே தீரும். அதாவது நாடு பிரிவினைக்குள் ளாவது தவிர்க்க முடியாமற் போய்விடும்.

இந்தி எதிர்ப்பைக் காட்ட பஸ்கள், இரயில் கள் நிறுத்தப்பட்டன — கொளுத்தப்பட்டன; இன்னுயிர்கள் பலவும் காவு கொடுக்கப்பட்டன; என்றாலும் நடுவன் அரசு இந்தித் திணிப்பில் தீவிரம் காட்டிவருவது வருந்தத் தக்கது; கண்டிக்கத் தக்கது.

நான் கருவிலே இருந்த சமயத்தில் உருவான இந்த இந்தி எதிர்ப்பு இயக்கம், கடந்த 30 வருடங் களுக்குப் பின்னும், நான் வளர்ந்து வாலிபனாகி இந்த மேடையிலேறி "இந்தி ஆதிக்கத்தை எதிர்க்க வேண்டும்" என்று பேசுகிறேன் என்றால் இந்த அளவில் இந்தி எதிர்ப்பைத் தடுத்து நிறுத்த முடி யாத இந்த இயக்கம் இருப்பது அவசியம்தானா?

இந்தி பேசாத மாநிலத்தவர்கள் கூட்டத்தைக் கூட்டுவதும் கூட்ட முடிவில் தீர்மானங்கள் தீட்டு வதும் ஒரு வழக்கமாகிவிட்டது. அதேபோல்

இன்றும் (26-1-'69) நாம் எடுத்திருக்கும் 16 கோரிக்கைத் தீர்மானமும் பழக்கப்பட்டுப்போன வழக்கமேதான். நாம் இன்று அனுப்பிவைக்கும் தீர்மானம் நடுவன் அரசின் பரிசீலனைக்குப் போகாது; குப்பைக் கூடையிலேதான் விசிறி எறியப்படும்! எனவே குப்பைக் கூடையிலே தூக்கி எறியப்படும் தீர்மானங்களைப் போடாமல் ஆக்கபூர்வமான வேலையில் ஈடுபட இம் மாநாட்டுப் பெரியவர்களைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன்.

மாணவர் சமுதாயம் வீண் கிளர்ச்சியில் ஈடுபட்டு தன் எதிர்கால வளமான வாழ்வின் அஸ்திவாரமான படிப்பைக் கெடுத்துக்கொள்ள விரும்பவில்லை. ஆனால் இந்திப் பிரச்சனையில் பாதிக்கப்படுபவர்கள் மாணவர்கள்தான் என்பதை மறுப்பதற்கில்லை. எனவே கடந்த 30 வருடங்களைப்போல் அல்லாது மாணவர்களுக்கு ஒரு உறுதி – நாங்கள் இன்னின்ன செயல்களைச் செய்து – "நிச்சயம் இந்தி ஆதிக்கத்தை முறியடிப்போம்" என்ற உறுதி நிச்சயப் படுத்தப்படவேண்டும்.

மாணவர் சமுதாயம் திராவிட முன்னேற்றக் கழகத்தின் ஏகபோகமாக இருந்த காலத்திலே மொழிப் பிரச்சனையில் வன்முறை புகவில்லை என்பதைத் தெளிவுபடுத்த விரும்புகிறேன். ஆனால் இன்று அரசியல், "மாணவர் உலகிலும்" புகுந்து விட்டபடியால் கட்சி லாபத்தைக் கருதிச் செயல் படும் விந்தை மலிந்துவிட்ட காரணத்தால் போட்டி, பொறாமை இதனால் பூசல்கள் உண்டாகின்றன. மொழிப் பிரச்சனையில் மாணவர்கள் ஈடுபடாது பெரியவர்கள் பக்கம் விட்டுவிடும்படி கேட்டுக்கொள் கிறேன்.

அரசியல் சுழலில் இருந்து மாணவருலகைக் காப்பாற்ற நமது பெருமதிப்பிற்குரிய (காலஞ் சென்ற) அண்ணு அவர்கள் குறிப்பிட்டதைப்போல் ஒவ்வொரு கல்வி நிறுவனத்திலும் "பெற்ருேர் அறிவுரை மன்றங்கள்" துவங்கப்படவேண்டும்; அதில் ஒவ்வொரு மாணவனின் பெற்ருேர், புரவலர் (கார்டியன்) உறுப்பினராக இருக்கவேண்டும். அதன் நிரந்தர செயலாளராக நிறுவன முதல்வர் (கல்லூரி பிரின்ஸ்பால்) அல்லது தலைமையாசிரியர் இருக்க வேண்டும். அக்குழு மாதத்தில் ஓரிருமுறை கூடித் தீர்மானங்கள் நிறை வேற்றிச் செயல்படவேண்டும்.

ஒவ்வொரு மாணவனின் பெற்ருேர்களும் நேரடியாகத் தங்கள் குழந்தைகளைக் கவனிக்க வழி பிறப்பதால், மாணவர்களுக்கும் ஒழுங்கீனங்களில் தலையிட முடியாத சூழ்நிலை ஏற்படும். பள்ளிகள், கல்லூரிகள் ஒழுங்குடன் சிறப்புடன் செயல்பட இம்முறை பயன்படுவதுடன் அரசியல்வாதிகள் மாணவர்களைப் பயன்படுத்துவதற்கும் இடம் இல்லாமற் போய்விடும்; எனவே இம்மாதிரி குழுக்கள் ஏற்படுத்த இம்மாநாடு பெற்ருேர்களை வற்புறுத்தவேண்டும். ஆறு மாதத்திற்குப் பின்னும் இந்தித் திணிப்பில் நடுவன் அரசு மாறுதல் செய்யாவிட்டால் இம்மாநாடு நேரடி நடவடிக்கையில் இறங்கும் என்று தீர்மானம் போடப் பட்டுள்ளது. இத்தீர்மானமும் ஏட்டளவில் நில்லாமல் செயற்படுத்தப்படவேண்டும். அவ்வாறு செயற்படுத்தும் முறை காந்தி வழிப்பட்ட நெறியாக இருக்கவேண்டும். மாநிலங்களில் உள்ள நடுவன் அரசு அலுவலகங்கள் முன்பு, முன் அறிவிப்புக் கொடுத்துத் தன்னைத் தானே வறுத்திக்கொள்ளும் அறப் போராட்டங்களில் ஈடுபடவேண்டும் எனக் கேட்டுக்கொள்வதுடன், "இந்தி, இந்தியாவின்

ஆட்சி மொழியாக இருக்கக்கூடாது; இருக்கவும் முடியாது; இருக்க விடவும் மாட்டோம்" என எச்சரித்து, கல்விக் கூடங்களில் பிராந்திய மொழியும் ஆங்கிலமும் இருக்கவேண்டும் எனக் கூறி அமைகிறேன்.

**திருமதி. என். ஏ. ரேணுகாதேவி** (சென்னை)

தலைவர் அவர்களே! பெரியோர்களே! தாய்மார்களே! வணக்கம்.

ஆங்கில மொழியானது சர்வதேச பொது மொழியாக விளங்குகிற ஒரே காரணத்தினால்தான் அதை தென்னிந்திய மக்கள் வரவேற்கிறார்கள். உலகிலுள்ள எந்த மொழியானாலும் எந்த சமயத்தில் சர்வதேச பொது மொழியாக விளங்குகிறதோ அந்த சமயத்தில் அந்த மொழியைத்தான் தென்னிந்தியா ஏற்கும். ஹிந்தி மொழியானது ஒரு காலம் சர்வ தேச பொது மொழியாக விளங்குமேயானால் அப்பொழுது அந்த ஹிந்தி மொழியை தென்னிந்தியர்கள் அன்போடு வரவேற்ப்பார்கள் என்பது நிச்சயம்.

தென்னிந்தியர்கள் தங்களது தாய் மொழியை மாகாண ஆட்சி மொழியாகவும், சர்வதேச பொது மொழியை தங்களது இணைப்பு மொழியாக உலகிலுள்ள பல்வேறு மொழிகள் பேசும் மக்களிடம் தொடர்பு கொள்ளும். ஆக இவ்விரண்டு மொழிகளை எந்த காரணத்தைக் கொண்டும் புறக்கணிக்க மாட்டார்கள். அவர்கள் சர்வதேச பொது மொழியை தவிர வேறு எந்த மொழியையும் தங்களது இணைப்பு மொழியாக்கி கொள்ளவும் சம்மதிக்க மாட்டார்கள். வட இந்தியர்களுக்கு சர்வ தேச பொது மொழியான ஆங்கிலம் அந்நிய நாட்டு மொழி என்ற காரணத்தால் அம்மொழியை ஒதிக்கி விட்டு இந்திய நாட்டு மொழிதான் வேண்டும் என்றும் அத்துடன் அவர்கள் தென்னாட்டுடனும் இணையவேண்டும் என்ற

உத்தேசமிருந்தால் அவர்கள் ஆங்கிலத்திற்கு பதிலாக ஒரு தென்னிந்திய மொழியைத்தான் ஏற்க வேண்டும். இத்திட்டத்தின் கீழ் தென்னிந்திய மாநிலங்கள் சர்வ தேச பொது மொழியான ஆங்கிலத்திலும் வட இந்திய மாநிலங்கள் தென்னிந்திய மொழியிலும் இணையவேண்டும். இத்திட்டத்திற்கு தென்னிந்தியாவும் வட இந்தியாவும் சந்திக்கும் புள்ளியாக ஹைதராபாத் இருப்பதால் அதை தலைநகரமாக்கப் பட வேண்டும்.

வட இந்தியர்கள் தென்னிந்திய மொழியை சரிவர பயின்று இனி ஆங்கில மொழி எங்களுக்கு தேவை இல்லை என்று மனப்பூர்வமாக கூறும் வரை எப்பொழுதும் போல ஆங்கில மொழியே இணைப்பு மொழியாக இருக்கட்டும். தென்னிந்திய மொழியை குறித்த காலத்திற்குள் கற்க வேண்டும் என்ற காலவரம்பு நிர்ணயிக்க தேவை இல்லை. இத்திட்டத்தை தென்னிந்தியர்கள் வற்புறுத்தவோ அல்லது தென்னிந்திய மொழியை வட இந்தியர்கள் மேல் திணிக்க வேண்டும் என்ற எண்ணமோ கிடையாது. அப்படி வட இந்தியர்கள் தென்னாட்டு மொழியை ஏற்க மறுத்து ஆங்கிலமே இணைப்பு மொழியாக இருக்கட்டும் என்று கூறினாலும் அதற்கு சிறிதும் ஆட்சேபணை கிடையாது.

சர்வ தேச பொது மொழியான ஆங்கில மொழி எங்களுக்கு தேவை இல்லை, அதற்கு பதிலாக ஒரு இந்திய மொழிதான் தேவை என்று தென்னிந்தியர்கள் கூறி இருப்பார்களேயானால் சர்வதேச பொது மொழியான ஆங்கிலத்திற்கு பதிலாக இந்தியர்களது மொழியான ஹிந்தியை தென்னிந்தியர்கள் மீது திணிப்பதில் தவறு இல்லை. அதற்கு மாறாக வட

நாடுதான் சர்வதேச பொது மொழியான ஆங்கில மொழி தேவை இல்லை என்றும் தென்னிந்தியர்களுட னும் இணைந்து இருக்க வேண்டும் என கூறுவதால் இந்த புதிய திட்டத்திற்கு வடநாடுதான் இசைந்து வர வேண்டும்.

மொழிப் பிரச்சனையில் ஓட்டு எடுப்பதாக வைத்துக் கொண்டால் கீழ்க்கண்ட முறையில் அமைய வேண்டும்.

ஓட்டு போடுவதற்கு தகுதி உள்ளவர்கள் குறைந்தது எஸ். எஸ். எல். சி. ஆவது பாஸ் செய்தவர் களாக இருக்க வேண்டும். உண்மையிலேயே சர்வ தேச பொது மொழியான ஆங்கில மொழியை அந்நிய நாட்டார் மொழி என்பதற்காகத்தான் வெறுக்கிறூர் களா என்பதை ஓட்டு எடுப்பதின் மூலம் அறிய வேண்டும். தென்னிந்தியாவில் வட இந்தியர்களது மொழியான ஹிந்தி மொழி வேண்டுமா அல்லது சர்வ தேச பொது மொழியான ஆங்கில மொழி வேண்டுமா என்று ஓட்டு எடுக்கப்பட வேண்டும். ஹிந்தி, ஆங் கிலம் ஆகிய இவ்விரு மொழிகளில் ஒரு மொழியைத் தான் தேர்ந்து எடுக்க வேண்டும். இரண்டு மொழி களும் வேண்டும் என்பவர்களின் ஓட்டு செல்லாது. அது போல வட இந்தியாவில் தென்னிந்திய மொழி வேண்டுமா அல்லது சர்வதேச பொது மொழியான ஆங்கில மொழி வேண்டுமா என்று ஓட்டு எடுக்கப்பட வேண்டும். அங்கேயும் தென்னிந்திய மொழியும் ஆங்கிலமும் இரண்டும் வேண்டும் என்பவர்களின் ஓட்டுகள் செல்லாது. இந்த முறைப்படி ஓட்டு எடுக்கப்பட்ட மொத்த ஓட்டுக்களில் தென்னிந்திய மொழி வேண்டும் என்பவர்களின் ஓட்டும் வட இந்தி யர்களின் ஹிந்தி மொழி வேண்டும் என்பவர்களின்

மொத்த ஓட்டின் கூட்டுத்தொகையை காட்டிலும் ஆங்கில மொழி தேவை என்பவர்களின் ஓட்டு எண்ணிக்கை அதிகமாக இருந்தால் சர்வ தேச பொது மொழியே தேசிய இணைப்பு மொழியாக்கப் பட வேண்டும். ஆனால் அதற்கு மாறாக தென்னிந்திய மொழியும், வட இந்திய ஹிந்தி மொழியும் வேண்டும் என்பவர்களின் ஓட்டுகளை காட்டிலும் அதிகமாக இருக்குமேயானால் அதன் பிறகு தென்னிந்திய மொழிக்கும் வட இந்தியர்களான ஹிந்தி மொழிக்கும் உள்ள வித்தியாசத்தை பார்க்க வேண்டும். அப்படி பார்க்கும்போது தென்னிந்திய மொழி தேவை என்பவர்களை காட்டிலும் வட இந்திய மொழியான ஹிந்தி வேண்டும் என்பவர்களின் ஓட்டுக்கள் அதிகமானால் அப்பொழுது சர்வ தேச பொது மொழியான ஆங்கிலத்தை தென்னிந்தியர்கள் அடியோடு வெறுக்கின்றனர் என்றும் ஆங்கில மொழி எங்களுக்கு தேவை இல்லை ஹிந்தி மொழி ஒன்றுதான் தேவை என்று ஒப்புக் கொண்டார்கள் என்பது இதன் பொருளாகும். அப்படியானால் வட இந்தியர்கள் தங்கள் விருப்பம் போல அவர்களது மொழியான ஹிந்தியை ஆங்கில மொழிக்கு பதிலாக வைத்துக் கொள்ளட்டும்.

அதற்கு மாறாக தென்னிந்திய மொழி வேண்டும் என்பவர்களின் தொகை, ஹிந்தி வேண்டும் என்பவர்களின் ஓட்டுத் தொகையைக் காட்டிலும் அதிகமானால் அப்பொழுது வட இந்தியர்கள் உண்மையிலேயே ஆங்கில மொழி வெளிநாட்டார் மொழி என்பதற்காக தான் வெறுக்கின்றனர் என்பது புலப்படும். அப்படியானால் தென்னிந்தியாவில் ஆங்கிலமும், வட இந்தியாவில் தென்னிந்திய மொழியாகவும் இந்த புதிய திட்டத்தின் கீழ் இந்த நாட்டை இணைக்க வேண்டும்.

இங்கே கூறப்படுவதில் நியாயம் இருக்குமேயானால் அநியாயமாக இருப்பவர்களின் எண்ணிக்கை அதிகமாக இருந்த போதிலும் அதையும் பொருட்படுத்தாமல் நியாயத்திற்கு மதிப்பு அளிக்கும் வகையில் மதிப்பிற்குறிய ஜனாதிபதி அவர்கள் அவரது உரிமையை பயன் படுத்த செய்து ஜனநாயக ஆட்சியில் தனி ஒருவன் கூறினாலும் அவன் சொல்லில் நியாயம் இருந்தால் மதிப்பளிக்கப்படும் என்ற உண்மையை நிறுவித்து காட்ட வேண்டும்.

இந்த பிரச்சனை தீர்க்க முடியாத பிரச்சனையாகவே நீடித்துக் கொண்டே போனால் இந்த பிரச்சனையை ஐக்கிய நாடுகளின் சபையில்தான் தீர்வு காண வேண்டும். வணக்கம்.

**திரு. ஜி. டி. நாயுடு** (தொழிலதிபர், கோவை)

இந்தி எதிர்ப்பு மாநாட்டின் தலைவர் அவர்களே! இந்தி திணிக்கப்படுவதை அடக்கி அதை அமைதியான வழிக்கு கொண்டு வருவதில் ஆர்வமும் ஊக்கமும் உள்ள பெரியோர்களே! நண்பர்களே! அன்பர்களே! உங்கள் அனைவருக்கும் என் அன்பு கலந்த வணக்கத்தை தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்.

முப்பது வருட காலமாகவே இந்தி திணிக்கப் படுவதை பார்த்துக் கொண்டிருந்து விட்டு இப்பொழுதாவது இந்தி மொழி பேசாத மாநிலங்கள் எல்லாம் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து இந்தி மொழி திணிக்கப்படுவதை எதிர்க்க வேண்டும் என்ற ஒரு உணர்ச்சி ஏற்பட்டுள்ளது பற்றி மிகவும் மகிழ்ச்சி அடைகிறேன். இது போன்ற ஓர் உணர்ச்சி தேவைதான் என்று வரவேற்கிறேன். உணர்ச்சிகளை ஒன்று சேர்த்து எல்லோரும் ஒரேமுகமாக இந்தி மொழி திணிக்கப் படுவதை எதிர்த்தால்தான் இந்த இந்தி அரக்கியின் கோரப்பிடியில் இருந்து நம்முடைய மொழிகளும், நாமும் தப்பிப் பிழைப்போம். தவறினால் வடநாட்டார் இந்திக்கும் மற்ற நாடுகளுக்கும் இந்தியாவை அடிமைப்படுத்தி விடுவார்கள் என்பதில் சிறிதும் சந்தேகம் இல்லை. இப்பொழுது இந்தியாவில் இந்தி அரக்கியின் ஆட்சிதான் கொடிக்கட்டிப் பறந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறது.

இந்திய அரசியல் சட்டத்தின் 17-வது பிரிவு இந்தி மொழி பேசுவோருக்கு சாதகமாகவும், இந்தி மொழி பேசாத மற்ற மாநில மக்களுக்கு பெரும்

அநீதி செய்வதாகவும் அமைந்துள்ளது. இச் சட்டத்தைக் கொண்டு இந்தி மொழி ஆட்சி மொழியாக இருக்க வேண்டும் என்றும், மற்ற மொழிகள் அதற்கு அடிமைப்பட்டுக் கிடக்க வேண்டும் என்றும் சொல்லுவதை உரிமை உணர்வு கொண்ட யாரும் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ள மாட்டார்கள். இந்தியா போன்ற பெரிய நிலப்பரப்புடைய நாட்டில், பல மொழி பேசுவோரும், பல பண்பாடுகள் உடைய 55 கோடி மக்கள் வாழ்ந்து வருகின்ற ஒரு நாட்டில் இந்தி போன்ற வளர்ச்சி அடையாத ஒரு மிருக மொழியை ஆட்சி மொழியாக்குவது வேண்டும் என்றே செய்யும் திமிர் பிடித்த வேலையாகும். இந்தியாவில் வசித்து வருகின்ற ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் அவர் அவர் தாய் மொழியிலே பேசுவதற்கும், எழுதுவதற்கும் பரிபூரண உரிமை இருக்க வேண்டும். பிற மொழிகளைப் படித்து அறிந்து கொள்வது என்பது அவர் அவர் விருப்பமாகும். இந்தி மொழியைத்தான் படித்தாக வேண்டும் என்று கட்டாயப்படுத்துவதற்கு யாருக்கும் உரிமை கிடையாது. அப்படிக் கட்டாயப்படுத்தும் போது நாம் உரிமையை இழந்து விடுகிறோம்.

மாநிலங்களின் தொடர்புக்காகவும், வெளிநாடுகளின் தொடர்புக்காகவும், ஆங்கிலம் தொடர்பு மொழியாக இருக்கட்டும். ஆங்கிலம் தொடர்பு மொழியாக இருக்க விரும்பாவிட்டால் – சட்டப் பூர்வமாக – நடைமுறையில் அனுமதிக்கா விட்டால் ஒவ்வொரு மொழி பேசும் மாநிலமும் தனித்தனியாக பிரிந்து போவதைத் தவிர வேறு வழி இல்லை. இந்தி என்னும் மந்தி மொழியைத் திணிப்பதன் மூலமாகவே பிரிவினை உணர்ச்சியை வளர்க்கிறார்கள். இந்தியைத் திணிப்பதில் வடநாட்டார் காட்டுகின்ற ஆர்வம் எல்லோருக்கும் எரிச்சல் ஊட்டுவதாக இருக்கிறது.

கீழ்மட்டத்தில் இருந்து மேல் மட்டம் வரை எல்லாம் இந்தியாகவே செய்துவிட வேண்டுமென்று திட்டமிட்டு மறைமுகமாக ஆனல் வேகமாக வேலே செய்து வருகிருர்கள். உதாரணமாக 'விவசாயிகள்' என்ற சாதாரண எளிய வார்த்தையை "கிஷான்கள்" என்றும், கிராமநல ஊழியர் என்பதை "கிராம சேவக்" என்றும், "ஜனதிபதி" என்பதை "ராஷ்டிர பதி" என்றும் "பாராளுமன்றத்தை" "லோக்சபா" என்றும் மாற்றி வழங்கி வருகிருர்கள். இந்தி மொழி மத்திய ஆட்சி மொழியாக வர வேண்டும் என்பதில் வெறி உணர்ச்சியுள்ள பல பத்திரிகைகளும் இவ்வாறே எழுதிக்கொண்டு வருகின்றன. இன்று ஒரு பட்டிக்காட்டு விவசாயிகூட "கிராம சேவக்" கைப் பார்க்கப் போனேன் என்று அரியாமலேயே இந்தி பேசுகிருன்.

ரூபாய் நோட்டுக்களேயும், நாணயங்களேயும் எடுத்துப் பார்த்தால் அதில் இந்தி எழுத்துக்களும், கோதுமைப் பயிரும் அச்சிடப்பட்டுள்ளது. தபால் கார்டுகளிலும், கவர்களிலும், மணியாடர் பாரங்களிலும் இந்தியே அச்சிடப்பட்டுள்ளது. ரயில் நிலேயங்களிலும், ஆகாய விமான நிலேயங்களிலும் இந்தியை எழுதியுள்ளார்கள். எங்கு பார்த்தாலும், எதில் பார்த்தாலும் இந்தி. யாருக்குப் புரிந்தாலும், புரியாவிட்டாலும் எல்லாவற்றிலும் இந்தி எழுத்துக்களேயே எழுதி வருகிருர்கள். இந்தி என்ற மந்தி மொழியின் வளர்ச்சிக்காக ஆண்டுதோறும் மத்திய அரசாங்கம் 20 கோடி ரூபாயுக்கும் அதிகமாக செலவழித்து வருகிறது. இந்தி பிரச்சார சபாக்களே அமைத்து இந்தியை சொல்லிக் கொடுக்கிருர்கள். இந்தி மொழி பயில்வோருக்கு உதவித் தொகையாகவும், சம்பள உயர்வும் கொடுத்து வருகிருர்கள். பல மொழிபேசும்

மக்கள் கொடுக்கின்ற வரிப் பணத்தில் இருந்து ஒரு மொழியினுடைய வளர்ச்சிக்காக இப்படி காட்டு தர்பார் செய்து காட்டுமிராண்டித்தனமாக நடந்து கொள்வதை மான உணர்ச்சியுள்ள யாரும் சகித்துக் கொள்ள மாட்டார்கள். அவர்களுடைய மொழியின் மீது அவர்கள் கொண்டுள்ள வெறி உணர்ச்சி நம்முடைய மொழி மீது நமக்கு இல்லாதது பற்றி வருத்தமும், வேதனையும், வெட்கமும் அடைகிறேன்.

இந்த அளவுக்கு இந்தியைக் கொண்டு வருவதற்கான துணிச்சல் வடநாட்டானுக்கு எப்படி வந்தது? நாம் கூட்டம் போட்டு பேசுகிறோம் — தீர்மானம் போட்டு அனுப்புகிறோம். அத்துடன் விட்டு விடுகிறோம். அதை நன்றாகத் தெரிந்து கொண்டே வேகமாக இந்தியைத் திணித்து வருகிறார்கள். இந்தியை எங்கெங்கு நுழைக்கிறார்களோ அதை எல்லாம் நாம் ஒழித்துக் கட்டினால் இந்தி திணிக்கப்படுவதை விட்டு விட்டு மரியாதையாக நடப்பார்கள். இந்தியை எதிர்த்து 30 வருடகாலமாக பேசி வருகிறோம். ஆகவே இனி தீவிரமான நடவடிக்கையின்மூலம்தான் இதற்கு முடிவு கட்ட முடியும்.

ஒரு இனத்தின் பண்பாட்டுக்கும், சிறப்பிற்கும், உரிமை வாழ்விற்கும் அடித்தளமாக அமைந்துள்ளது அம்மக்கள் பேசும் மொழியேயாகும். மொழி உரிமையை இழந்து விட்ட இனம் மற்ற இனத்துக்கு அடிமையானதை வரலாறு நமக்கு எடுத்துக் காட்டுகின்றது. ஒரு இனத்தை அடிமைப்படுத்துவதற்கு அந்த இனத்தின் விலைமதிக்க முடியாத மொழியை அகற்றிவிட்டுப் பின்னர் அந்த நாடுகளை அடிமைப் படுத்திய வரலாறு நமக்குத் தெரியும். அவ்வாறு தெரிந்திருந்தும், இன எழுச்சி கொள்ளாமல்,

மொழி உரிமைக்காக போராடாமல் தூங்கிக் கிடப்பதைப் பார்த்தால் மக்களிடம் இன்னும் விழிப்புணர்ச்சி ஏற்படவில்லை என்றே எண்ணுகிறேன்.

சமுதாய அரசியல் பிரச்சனைகளை விஞ்ஞானக் கண்ணோட்டத்துடன் பார்க்கவில்லை என்பதை காந்தி அடிகளின் தாசர்களே ஒப்புக்கொள்வார்கள். அவருடைய நோக்கம் முழுவதும் "இந்தியா விடுதலை பெற வேண்டும்" என்ற ஒன்றிலேயே நிலைத்திருந்தது. அதற்குத் தடையாக இருந்து வந்த இந்து–முஸ்லீம் வேற்றுமையை நீக்க வேண்டும் என்று எண்ணினார். முஸ்லீம்கள் பெரும்பாலும் பாரசீக, அரேபிய மொழிகளின் சார்புடைய உருது மொழியைப் பேசி வந்தனர். இந்தி மொழியானது உருது, இந்துஸ்தானி ஆகிய மொழிகளின் கலப்படமாகும். இந்தியை இந்தியாவின் பொது மொழியாக்கி விட்டால் இந்தி பேசுவதன் மூலம் இந்துக்களுக்கும்–முஸ்லீம்களுக்கும் இடையே ஒற்றுமை நிலவும் என்று தவறாக கணக்கு போட்டுக் கொண்டு பாடு பட்டார். இந்து–முஸ்லீம்களிடையே கடைசி வரை மொழியின் மூலம் ஒருமைப்பாட்டை உண்டாக்க முடியவில்லை என்பதை இந்தியாவில் இருந்து பாகிஸ்தான் பிரிந்து போனதிலிருந்து தெளிவாக அறிந்து கொள்ளலாம். ஆகவே காந்தியடிகள் தத்துவம் அன்றே எடுபடவில்லை. அப்படியிருக்க இன்று காந்தியடிகள் பெயரைச் சொல்லிக் கொண்டு "இந்தி தான் இந்தியவின் பொது மொழியாக இருக்க வேண்டும்" என்று சொல்லுவது பெரிய முட்டாள் தனமாகும். சிந்தனையும், அறிவும், ஆண்மையும் இல்லாத மக்களிடையே காந்தியடிகள் பெயரைச் சொல்லிக்கொண்டு ஏமாற்றலாம். ஆனால் இன்று மக்களிடையே கல்வி, அறிவு வளர்ந்துள்ளது. எதை

யும் ஆராய்ந்து அறியும் நியாய உணர்ச்சி தலை தூக்கி யுள்ளது. ஆகவே சென்ற கால வரலாற்றை தேடி எடுத்துப் படிக்கிறார்கள்; நடந்தவைகளை தெளிவாக அறிந்து கொள்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே இனி காந்தி அடிகளின் பெயரைச் சொல்லிக் கொண்டு ஏமாற்று வது என்பது நடக்காது; நடக்கவும் விடமாட்டோம். உண்மையை ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் எடுத்துச் சொல்லு வோம்.

நாம் இன்று வடநாட்டுக்கு அடிமைப்பட்டுக் கிடப்பதற்கும், இந்தி என்ற மந்தி மொழியின் பிடியில் சிக்கிக் கிடப்பதற்கும் நாம்தான் காரணம். நம்மிடையே இன ஒற்றுமை இல்லை; மொழிப் பற்றும் இல்லை. இதைப்பயன் படுத்திக் கொண்டே வடநாட்டார் நம்முடைய ஆட்களைக் கொண்டே நம்மீது இந்தியைத் திணித்து வருகிறார்கள். உதாரணமாக 1938-லேயே சென்னை மாநிலத்தின் இடைக்கால முதல் மந்திரியாக இருந்த திரு. ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் அன்றே பள்ளிகளில் இந்தியைக் கட்டாயப் பாடமாகக் கொண்டு வந்தார். இந்தி ஆட்சி மொழி யாக வந்தால் அதனால் ஏற்படக் கூடிய தீமைகளை அன்றே அறிந்துணர்ந்த பெரியார் திரு. ஈ. வெ. ராமசாமி, திரு. வி. கல்யாண சுந்தரம், திரு. சோம சுந்தர பாரதியார், திரு. கி. ஆ. பெ. விசுவநாதம் போன்றவர்கள் தீவிரமாக இந்தித் திணிப்பை எதிர்த்தார்கள். போராட்டம் நடத்தினார்கள். அவர் களுடைய போராட்டங்களின் காரணமாகவே இந்தி பள்ளிகளில் கட்டாயப் பாடமாக கொண்டு வருவது கைவிடப்பட்டது. முப்பது வருட காலமாகவே இந்தி திணிப்பு படிப்படியாக நடந்து வருகிறது. இந்தி வெறியர்கள் இந்தியைப் பரப்புவதில் கண்ணும் கருத்துமாக இருந்து வருகிறார்கள். பிறமொழி

பேசும் மக்கள் அவர்களிடம் மயங்கி அடிமைகளாக மாறி வருவதை நினைக்க மிகவும் வருத்தமாக இருக்கிறது. எத்தனை தான் எடுத்துச் சொன்னாலும் கேட்டுவிட்டு பின் பேசாமல் போய் விடுகின்ற மக்களை வைத்துக்கொண்டு இந்தி வெறியர்களை எப்படி எதிர்ப்பது என்றே தெரியவில்லை.

ஒரு நாடு என்றால் அதற்கு ஒரு மொழிதான் மத்திய ஆட்சி மொழியாக இருக்க வேண்டும் என்று இல்லை. அவ்வாறு ஒரே நாட்டில் பல்வேறு மொழிகள் மத்திய ஆட்சி மொழியாக இருப்பதை வரலாறு அறிந்த அனைவரும் அறிவார்கள். உதாரணமாக மலேயா, இலங்கை, பெல்ஜியம் போன்ற நாடுகளில் இரண்டு மொழிகள் மத்திய ஆட்சி மொழியாக இருந்து வருகிறது. ஸ்விட்சர்லாந்து, ஜெர்மனி, பிரான்சு போன்ற நாடுகளில் மூன்று மொழிகள் மத்திய மொழியாக இருந்து வருகிறது. இவைகளை எல்லாம் இந்தி வெறியர்கள் அறிவார்கள். இருந்தாலும் மந்தியை மத்திய ஆட்சி மொழியாகக் கொண்டு வந்துவிட்டால் இந்தி மொழி என்னும் மந்தி மொழி பேசுவோர் மற்றவர்கள் மீது ஆதிக்கம் செலுத்த முடியும் என்ற எண்ணத்துடனேயே இந்தி வெறியர்கள் செயல்பட்டு வருகிறார்கள். இப்பொழுதும் வடநாட்டாருக்கு மற்றவர்கள் அடிமைப்பட்டுக் கிடப்பதை கண் எதிரில் காண்கிறோம்.

"இந்தியாவின் அரசியல், நிர்வாக ஒருமைப்பாடு காப்பாற்றப் படுவதற்கு ஒரு பொது மொழி தேவை. அத்தகைய மொழி இந்திய மொழியாக இருந்தால் தான் தன்மானம் காப்பாற்றப்படும்" என்று பல அரசியல் தலைவர்கள் பேசி வருகிறார்கள். இந்தியாவைப் பொறுத்த வரையில் தன்மானம் என்பது

சிறிதுகூட இல்லாத ஓர் நாடு என்பதை அனைவரும் அறிவார்கள். தன்னைவிட மக்கள் தொகையிலும், செல்வ வளத்திலும் குறைந்த பெல்ஜியம், பின்லாந்து, இத்தாலி, ஜப்பான், மலேயா போன்ற நாடுகளிடம் கூட சென்று கடனும், பிச்சையும் எடுத்துக்கொண்டு இருக்கும் இந்தியாவானது தன்மானத்தைப் பற்றி பேச என்ன தகுதி இருக்கிறது? தன்மானம் உள்ள ஒரு நாடு என்றால் இங்குள்ள மக்கள் சக்தியை பயன்படுத்தி, இங்குள்ள செல்வ வளங்களையும், கனி வளங்களையும் கொண்டே விவசாய, தொழில் வளர்ச்சிக்கான முயற்சிகளை செய்திருப்பார்கள். தொடர்ந்து பிச்சை எடுப்பதிலும், கடன் வாங்குவதிலுமே ஆர்வமும், ஊக்கமும் காட்டி வருகிற இந்தியாவை தன்மானம் உள்ள நாடு என்று சொல்லுவது சரியல்ல.

நாம் வெளிநாடுகளுக்குச் சென்றால் ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசினால் "உனக்கென்று ஒரு தேசிய மொழி இல்லையா?'' என்று கேட்கிறார்கள் என்பது போன்ற பொய்யை நான் இதுவரை கேட்டதே இல்லை. நானும் பல முறை வெளி நாடுகளுக்குப் போய் வந்துள்ளேன். அங்குள்ளவர்கள் அனைவரும் அவர்களுக்குப் புரியும் ஆங்கிலத்தில் பேசுவதையே விரும்புகிறார்கள். என்னுடைய தாய் மொழியிலோ அல்லது இந்தியிலோ பேசும்படி என்னிடம் யாரும் கேட்கவில்லை. இந்தி வெறியர்கள் என்பதை முன் கூட்டியே அறிந்திருந்து அதனால் இந்தியில் பேசும்படி கேட்டு வேடிக்கை பார்த்திருப்பார்கள். வெளி நாடுகளிடம் தொடர்பு கொள்வதற்கும், மற்ற மாநிலங்களுடன் தொடர்பு கொள்வதற்கும் ஆங்கில மொழி ஒன்றே போதும். பல மொழிகளை படித்துக் கொண்டு இளமையை வீணாக்குவதை விட தாய்

மொழியையும், அத்துடன் ஆங்கிலத்தையும் தெளிவாக கற்றுத் தேர்ந்து தொழிற் துறையிலும், விவசாயத் துறையிலும் முன்னேறுவதற்கான முயற்சிகளைச் செய்வதே சரியான வழியாகும். அவ்வாறு செய்தால்தான் இந்தியா உருப்படும்; இந்திய ஒற்றுமையும் காக்கப்படும்.

"இந்தி மொழி பேசுவோரே தொடர்ந்து ஆட்சி செய்ய வேண்டும் என்றும், மற்றவர்கள் அதை ஏற்றுக் கொள்ள வேண்டும் என்றும் இந்திய அரசியல் சட்டத்தில் இல்லை" என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஆனால் உண்மையில் நடப்பது இந்தி மொழி பேசுவோரின் ஆட்சிதான். இந்தி மொழி பேசுவோர் மற்ற மொழிகள் பேசுபவர்கள் மீது மறைமுகமாக – சாமாத்தியமாக – தந்திரமாக சவாரி செய்து வருகிறார்கள். மறைமுகமாகவே எல்லா வேலைகளும் நடப்பதால் பிற மொழி பேசுபவர்கள் தூங்கிக் கொண்டே இருக்கிறார்கள். நிர்வாகத் துறையில் கீழ் மட்டத்திலிருந்து மேல் மட்டம் வரை இந்தி மொழி வீற்றிருந்தால்தான் சுலபமாக மக்களை அடிமைகளாக நடத்தி ஆட்சியின் சுகத்தை அனுபவிக்க முடியும் என்று திட்டமிட்டு இந்தி வெறியர்கள் செயல்பட்டு வருகிறார்கள். கிராம நல ஊழியர்களை "கிராம சேவக்" என்றும், விவசாயிகளை "கிஷான்கள்" என்றும் அழைக்கும்படியான கேடு கெட்ட நிலைமை வந்தபிறகும் விழிப்புணர்ச்சி ஏற்பட்டு போராடாதவர்களை என்னவென்று சொல்லுவது?

வட நாட்டார் இந்தியுடன் ஆங்கிலம் மட்டும் கற்றுக் கொள்வார்கள். ஆனால் நாம் தாய் மொழி ஒன்று, தேசிய மொழியான இந்தி, பின்னர் ஆங்கிலம்

என்று மூன்று மொழிகளைக் கற்க வேண்டும். ஒருவன் இரண்டு மூட்டைகளை மட்டும் சுமந்து செல்வது. மற்றொருவன் மூன்று மூட்டைகளை சுமந்து கொண்டு தடைகளையும் கடந்து செல்ல வேண்டும் என்பது அவனை முன்னேற விடாமல் செய்யும் சூழ்ச்சியாகும். இந்தி வெறியர்கள் சூழ்ச்சியில் வல்லவர்கள். அதனால்தான் முப்பது வருட காலமாகவே தென்னாட்டுப் பள்ளிகளில் இந்தி கட்டாயப் பாடமாகவோ அல்லது விருப்பபாடமாகவோ இருந்து வருகிறது. ஆனால் வடநாட்டில் உள்ள ஒரு பள்ளியில் கூட எந்தத் தென்னாட்டு மொழியும் கற்றுக் கொடுக்கப்படுவதில்லை. இந்த சூழ்ச்சி இன்னும் புரியவில்லையா?

எவ்வளவுதான் திறமை இருந்தாலும் இந்தியைக் கற்றுத் தேர்ந்து இந்தி மொழியை தாய் மொழியாகக் கொண்டுள்ளவர்களுடன் போட்டி போட முடியாது என்பதை அனைவரும் அறிவார்கள். நிர்வாக, அரசியல், பொருளாதாரத் துறைகளில் சமத்துவத்தை இழந்தபின் எப்படி பண்பாடு காப்பாற்றப்படும். "குறைந்த அளவிற்கு மத்திய ஆட்சி மொழியாக இந்தி இருக்கட்டும். சிறிய அளவேனும் விட்டுக் கொடுத்தால் என்ன?" என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். குறைந்த அளவிற்கு இந்தி மொழிக்கு தனிச்சலுகை கொடுத்தால் குறைந்த அளவினுக்கேனும் அநீதி இருக்கத்தான் செய்யும். அநீதியை ஓரளவுக்கு அனுமதித்தால் சலுகை அடைவோன் மேலும் மேலும் சலுகை அடையத்தான் செய்வான். உரிமையை சிறிது விட்டுக் கொடுத்து பழகியவன் மிகத்தாழ்வு அடையும் வரை உரிமையின் அருமையை உணரவே மாட்டான். ஆகையால் மொழி உரிமையை விட்டுக் கொடுக்கும்படி கேட்பது ஒரேயடியாக

தாழ்ந்து போக உனக்கு விருப்பம் இல்லாவிட்டால் மெதுவாகத் தாழ்ந்து போகலாம் என்று சொல்லுவதற்கு ஒப்பாகும். மேலும் விட்டுக் கொடுப்பதற்கு மொழியுரிமை என்ன தனிமனிதனின் சொத்தா? மொழியுரிமை சமுதாயத்தின் பொதுச் சொத்தாகும். சமுதாயத்தின் உரிமைகளை விட்டுக் கொடுக்க எந்த அரசியல் தலைவனுக்கும் உரிமை கிடையாது. தன்னுடைய அறிவற்ற தன்மையால் அரசியல் தலைவர்கள் மொழி உரிமையை விட்டுக் கொடுப்பார்களானல் எதிர்கால உலகம் அவர்கள் மீது வசை பாடும்.

மொழி உரிமைக் குரல் – வெறியின் விளைவல்ல. மேலும் வெறி குறுகிய மனப்பான்மை என்ற அர்த்தத்தையும் கொடுக்கிறது. தன்னுடைய ஆதிக்கத்தை மற்றவர்கள் மேல் செலுத்த வேண்டும் என்ற வேட்கையில் தனக்கு தனிச் சலுகை கேட்டு போராடுவதுதான் வெறித்தனம். அப்படிப் பார்த்தால் மற்றவர்களுக்கு இல்லாத தனிச் சலுகை தனக்கு வேண்டுமெனப் போராடும் இந்திக்காரர்கள்தான் வெறியர்கள். "இந்தி மொழியினர் அல்லாதோர் விரும்பும் வரை ஆங்கிலம் மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தின் தொடர்பு மொழியாக (Associated Language) நீடிக்கும்" என்று காலம் சென்ற திரு. நேருஜி உறுதி மொழி அளித்தார். இது ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளக் கூடியதல்ல நாம் கேட்பது மத்திய ஆட்சி மொழியாக ஆங்கிலம்தான் இருக்க வேண்டும் என்பது. இந்தியுடன் ஆங்கிலமும் என்ற ஏற்பாட்டை ஏற்றுக் கொண்டால் பலர் ஆங்கிலத்தின் மூலம் உயர்வடைய முயற்சிப்பர்; சிலர் இந்தியின் மூலம் உயர்வடைய முயற்சிப்பர். இது வேற்றுமைகளை வளர்க்கும். புதிய வகையான தொல்லைகளை உண்டாக்கும்.

ஆகவே இந்தியை முழுக்க அகற்றிவிட்டு மத்திய ஆட்சி மொழியாக ஆங்கிலத்தைத்தான் வைக்க வேண்டும். அல்லது எல்லா மொழிகளேயும்தான் ஏற்றுக் கொள்ள வேண்டும் என்று தீவிரமாக போராட வேண்டும்.

தேசிய ஒருமைப்பாடு என்ற பெயரினைக் கொண்டு மத்திய அரசாங்கம் மறைமுகமாகவும், நேரிடையாகவும் இந்தியைத் திணித்து வருகிறது. இதற்காகக் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டதே இந்திய அரசியல் சட்டத்தின் 17-வது பிரிவு ஆகும். மிக முக்கிய மானவையும், அவசரமானவையுமான பல பிரச்சனை கள் நீண்ட காலமாக தீர்க்கப்படாமல் இருந்து வருகிறது. அப்படி இருக்க இந்தியைப் புகுத்து வதற்கு மட்டும் என்ன அவசியமும், அவசரமும் ஏற்பட்டு விட்டதென்று தெரியவில்லே. இந்தியை திணிப்பதிலும், நமது மதிப்பு வாய்ந்த மூலப் பொருட்களே மிகக் குறைந்த விலேக்கு வெளி நாடு களுக்கு ஏற்றுமதி செய்வதிலும், உதாரணமாக வெண்ணெய்யை ஏற்றுமதி செய்துவிட்டு நெய்யை இறக்குமதி செய்வதிலும், வெளி நாட்டினருடன் சேர்ந்து தொழில்களே நடத்துவதிலும், வெளி நாட்டினரிடம் இருந்து பிச்சையும், வட்டிக்கோ, வட்டியில்லாமலோ கடன் வாங்குவதிலும், மத்திய அரசாங்கம் கண்ணும் கருத்துமாய் இருந்து வருகிறது.

மத்திய அரசாங்க அமைச்சர்கள் ஒவ்வொரு வரும் கல்வி, தொழில், விவசாயம் என்ற பெயரில் புது மாப்பிள்ளேகள் மாமனர் வீட்டுக்குப் போய் வருவது போல் முறை முறையாக வெளி நாடு களுக்குப் பொய் வருகிறர்கள். இவர்களே எல்லாம்

வரவேற்று வேண்டிய ஏற்பாடுகளைச் செய்து கொடுப்பதற்காகவே பிரதிநிதிகளை (அம்பாசிஸ்டர்) நியமித்துள்ளார்கள், இவர்களுடைய ஆடம்பரச் செலவுக்கான அந்நிய செலாவணியைப் பெறுவதற்காக நம்முடைய மூலப்பொருட்களை மிகக் குறைந்த விலையில் ஏற்றுமதி செய்து நாட்டையே கடன்கார நாடாகச் செய்து கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். உதாரணமாக இந்தியாவில் உள்ள மக்கள் சர்க்கரை கிடைக்காமல் கஷ்டப்பட்டு வருகிறார்கள். ஆனால் அதே நேரத்தில் மத்திய அரசாங்கம் மிகக் குறைந்த விலையில் சர்க்கரையை வெளிநாடுகளுக்கு ஏற்றுமதி செய்துவருகிறது. மற்றும் உபயோகம் இல்லாத ஏராளமான திட்டங்களைப் போட்டுள்ளது. அவைகளை நிறைவேற்றுவதற்காக மக்களைப் பசியாலும், பட்டினியாலும் சாகடிக்கிறது. மற்றும் எந்த ஒரு சிறு விசயத்துக்கும் ஆராய்ச்சிக் குழுக்களை அமைத்து வரிப் பணத்தை விரையம் செய்து வருகிறார்கள். மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தின் ஊதாரித்தனமான காரியங்களை நான் ஆயிரக்கணக்கில் குறித்துவைத்துள்ளேன். அவைகளை எல்லாம் நான் எடுத்துச் சொன்னால் இளைஞர்களுடைய ரத்தம் சூடேறி கட்டுக்கடங்காத முறையில் எது வேண்டுமானாலும் செய்துவிடுவார்கள். ஆகவே அவைகளைப்பற்றி இப்போது ஒன்றும் சொல்லவில்லை.

பல வருடங்களுக்கு முன்பு நான் இந்தி ஆதரவாளன். வருடாவருடம் 10 மாணவர்களை என் செலவில் சென்னையில் உள்ள மாம்பலத்துக்கு இந்தி படித்து வர அனுப்பி வந்தேன். மாவட்டத்துக்கு ஒரு இந்தி பாடசாலையை அமைக்கும்படியும், அவ்வாறு அமைப்பதால் வடநாட்டுக்குப் போய் வாழ விரும்பும் நபர்களும், வடநாட்டினருடன் வியாபாரத்

தொடர்பு கொள்வோரும் தமக்கு வேண்டிய அளவு இந்தியைக் கற்றுக் கொள்ள வசதியாக இருக்கும் என்றும் ஆலோசனைகள் சொன்னேன். மத்திய அரசாங்கம் என்னுடைய ஆலோசனையை ஏற்று இந்தி கற்றுக் கொள்வதை மக்களுடைய விருப்பத்துக்கு விட்டிருந்தால் இதற்குள்ளாக ஏராளமான பேர்கள் இந்தியை நன்றாகக் கற்று தேர்ந்து இருப்பார்கள். அதை விட்டுவிட்டு இந்தியை மறைமுகமாகவும், நேர்முகமாகவும் இந்தி பேசாத மக்கள் மீது திணிக்க முற்பட்டதாலேயே இந்த அளவுக்கு எதிர்ப்பு உணர்ச்சி வளர்ந்துள்ளது மற்றும் மத்திய அரசாங்கம் பாராளுமன்றத்தில் தனக்குள்ள பெரும்பான்மை பலம், ராணுவம், போலீஸ் இவற்றின் துணையைக் கொண்டு இந்தியை வேகமாக திணிக்க முற்பட்டுள்ளதைக் கண்டு தென்னாட்டு மக்கள் ஆத்திரம் அடைந்துள்ளார்கள். மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தினுடைய தவறான போக்கினாலேயே இந்தியே கூடாது என்று சொல்லும் அளவுக்கு எதிர்ப்பு உணர்ச்சி வளர்ந்துள்ளது இப்போது நானும் இந்தியை தீவிரமாக எதிர்க்கிறேன். தமிழர்கள் யாராவது இந்தியில் ஒரு வார்த்தை பேசினால் அவர்களுடைய உடம்பிலுள்ள இரத்தம் முழுவதையும் எடுத்துவிட்டு சுத்தமான தமிழ் ரத்தம் நிரப்பப்பட வேண்டும் என்று பேசி வருகிறேன். இந்த அளவு சொல்லுவதற்குக் காரணம் இந்தி வெறியர்களுடைய அகம்பாவமேயாகும்.

இந்தி வெறியர் சேட் கோவிந்ததாஸ் ''இந்தி மொழியினர் அல்லாதவர்களை மத்திய அரசாங்க வேலைகளுக்கே எடுத்துக் கொள்ளக் கூடாது'' என்று பேசி வருகிறார் இன்னும் சிறிது நாளில் ''இந்தி மொழியினர் அல்லாதவர்களை அறவே ஒழித்து விட

வேண்டும்'' , என்று சொல்லுவார். அவருடைய இந்தி வெறியானது மற்ற மாநில மக்களின் சுய உரிமையை தட்டி எழுப்பி உள்ளது. இவ்வாறே சென்றால் மத்திய ஆட்சியில் இருந்து மாநிலங்கள் பிரிந்து போவதைத் தடுக்க முடியாது. அவ்வாறு பிரிந்து செல்லும் நாள் நெருங்கிக் கொண்டே இருக்கிறது.

அரசியலை விட தொழிற்துறையில் நான் அதிக ஆர்வம் உள்ளவன். மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தின் பயன் இல்லாத திட்டங்களாலும், வரி முறையாலும், இந்தி திணிப்பாலும் நாடு நாசமாகிக் கொண்டிருப்பதை பார்த்து சகிக்க முடியாமலேயே இப்போது கொஞ்சம் கொஞ்சமாக அரசியலுக்கு வந்து கொண்டிருக் கிறேன் மத்திய அரசாங்கத்திடம் ஏராளமான அதிகாரங்கள் இருக்கின்றன என்பது எனக்குத் தெரியும். அவைகளை வைத்துக் கொண்டு எதிர்க் கட்சிகளின் மேல் பல நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுத்து அவைகளை ஒழித்துக்கட்டவே வேலை செய்வார்கள். அவர்கள் எது செய்தாலும் நாம் நம்முடைய மொழியையும், உரிமையையும், பண்பாட்டையும், இனத்தையும் காப்பாற்றிக் கொள்ள போராடித்தான் தீரவேண்டும்.

கீழ்க்காணும் தீர்மானத்தை உங்கள் கவனத்துக் கும், ஆதரவுக்குமாக சமர்ப்பிக்கிறேன்: "இதுவரை இந்தி பேசாத மாநிலங்களின் மாநாடு அங்கீகரிக்கப் பட்ட தீர்மானங்கள் அனைத்தையும் மத்திய அரசாங் கத்தின் அங்கீகாரத்துக்கு அனுப்பப்பட வேண்டும். அவைகளை யெல்லாம் அவர்கள் அப்படியே ஒப்புக் கொண்டால் 91-வது நாளன்று அவர்களுக்கு நம் நன்றியைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ள ஒரு நாளைக்

குறிப்பிடுவோம். அப்படிச் செய்யாமல் மீண்டும் இந்தியைப் புகுத்த முற்பட்டால் வடநாட்டார் மீது போர் தொடுக்க ஒரு நாள் குறிப்பிட்டாக வேண்டும். இந்தி திணிப்பை கைகழுவி விடாவிட்டால் போர் தொடங்குவதைத் தவிர வேறு வழியில்லை''. இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரித்து நிறை வேற்றும்படியாக அனைவரையும் கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன். வணக்கம்.

(இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை மாநாடு அப்படியே ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளாமல் மத்திய அரசாங்கத்துக்கு 6 மாத காலம் தவணை கொடுத்து, ஒன்றும் செய்யாவிட்டால் நேர்முக நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக் கொள்வதாக தீர்மானித்துள்ளது.)

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